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I

BRYANISM

Energy cannot be destroyed. It may change its form, some of it may be dissipated, but none of it can be annihilated. While guarding one's self, in accord with Huxley's warning, against analogies drawn from the field of science for use in the very human field of politics, it seems that what is loosely known as Bryanism, considered in its broader aspect, is really a form of energy. Some of it has been dissipated. But the remainder has not gone through a transformation from one form of energy to another such as probably would have taken place had Mr. Bryan been elected President of the United States and incurred those heavy responsibilities of government which tend to bring a leader and his party under conservative influences.¹

The history of the Democratic party reveals the fundamental character of Bryanism. John Adams once said,² in describing the colonial origin of our political parties, that

¹ "It is a proverb that to turn a radical into a conservative there needs only to put him into office."—James Russell Lowell.

² See "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics," by Professor A. D. Morse, of Amherst College, in *International Monthly*, October, 1900,

"in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts and all the rest a court and country party has always contended." That "country" party was the democracy of the colonies, as opposed to the colonial aristocracy, and it generated the rebellious impulse that made the triumphant Revolutionary War. What Eldridge Gerry called "an excess of democracy," after the war, permitted a conservative reaction to set in. Reactions are often beneficial, and the undying glory of that particular reaction was the Federal Constitution of 1787.

Hamilton, the leader of the conservative party, profoundly distrusted popular institutions. And, as Professor Morse¹ has written, the clear tendency of his constructive statesmanship, in President Washington's cabinet, "was to foster the growth of a moneyed aristocracy and to make it the permanent ally of the government." Against tendencies of that character arose the movement of the Jeffersonians, which proved successful in 1800. That the uprising was primarily against what the Jeffersonians believed to be the menace of plutocratic aristocracy to democratic ideals cannot be doubted.

The tendency of radicalism to be mastered by conservative influences, when it has assumed the immense responsibilities of government, was illustrated by the "Jeffersonian period." Within twenty years after Jefferson's first inauguration the "Jacobin" party became the abiding place of a large part of the conservatism and wealth of the country; and in twenty-four years it elected as President a statesman who was no other than the son of John and Abigail Adams. There had been a transformation of energy from radicalism to conservatism, but the radical force was still existent. And it proved itself again supreme when the Jacksonians overthrew the later Jeffersonians in 1828.

Much that Andrew Jackson did is condemned by historians, yet he was the accepted political champion of the more

¹ See "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics," by Professor A. D. Morse, of Amherst College, in *International Monthly*, October, 1900.

democratic portion of the people and he incarnated a radical force that viewed with deep distrust the moneyed and aristocratic influences of the time. Essentially, the uprising of the Jacksonians against the later Jeffersonians was the same in character as that of the early Jeffersonians against the Hamiltonians.¹ But, like the Jeffersonian movement, that of the Jacksonians was soon mastered by conservative influences. In less than a generation it had been degraded into a political machine for the protection of the Southern slaveholders and their financial allies in the mercantile and manufacturing North, while during the acute slavery conflict and the Civil War period its normal and primary characteristics were lost to view. Abraham Lincoln became the "defender of the faith," the great democrat of the age.

In the twenty-five years after Appomattox the party called Democratic tended slowly to reassume the character which the slavery struggle had so distorted. The wage-earning classes in the North, especially in the large cities and towns, had clung to it with surprising tenacity. Both Mr. Tilden and Mr. Cleveland were conservative leaders and their popular successes in 1876 and 1884 were due to the errors, corruption, and popular weariness of prolonged Republican rule. Mr. Cleveland's second election in 1892, however, showed that the Democratic party was again growing radical in the same sense that the democracy in 1800 and 1828 had been radical. Not only had the great strikes of that year embittered labor organizations, but in 1890 there had appeared one of the most extraordinary movements recorded in American politics, the uprising among the farmers of the Western and Southwestern States.

Populism was based on discontent. Even in a party sense it was democratic if you accept Professor Morse's definition that "the Democratic party is the political champion of

¹ It is almost amusing now to read that the Whigs always maintained that the party of Jackson was not the party of Jefferson. "It was in their eyes a new and dangerous party which had filched the name of the party of Jefferson."—See "Political Parties in the United States," by Jesse Macy, page 34.

those elements of the democracy which are most democratic." Jackson himself, to quote Professor Morse again, "stood forth as the champion of the poor, and made war in their behalf against the rich." And this Populist movement should be called democratic, using the word in its broad, philosophic sense, simply because it emanated from the more common of the common people and was an expression of discontent with prevailing conditions.

That the Populist movement made its coming felt originally in the Republican party of Kansas and Nebraska, eleven years ago, was due to the Civil War. The great conflict over secession had left a strong sectional impress upon parties in the West so that as late as 1888 Kansas and Nebraska, which contained great numbers of Union veterans, were Republican by enormous majorities. Yet in that preponderantly Republican population there was a large class who, under certain conditions, would passionately support a crusade against wealth. With their old war prejudices against the Democratic party their revolt speedily took the form of a new, independent political organization. In the South the essentially democratic nature of the Populist movement was demonstrated by the speed and ease with which the old party organization of the ruling class was captured by the "poor whites," led by such leaders as Tillman, or with which the older leaders like Morgan and Daniel acquiesced in much of its political program.

Silverism, it is true, became the leading point in the Populistic program, although Populism had very much in common with the contemporaneous uprising of the Australasian democracy. But that was because the issue had "availability" in politics, owing to the conditions peculiar to this country. Silver had been demonetized less than twenty years before the elections of 1890, and its "restoration" had been openly encouraged in Congress and out by prominent leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Add to that the facts that the United States was a silver-

producing country, that it was a "debtor nation," and that such economists as the late General F. A. Walker were apostles of bimetallism, and you have an explanation of the final concentration of the radical movement in the United States upon "16 to 1," whereas, in Australasia the radical movement, although agrarian, largely took an entirely different course. Silverism gained a "paramountcy" as an issue, yet it was only a passing manifestation of a force groping for weapons with which to wage its conflict with conditions that inspired discontent.

The Australasian radical movement, which was the result of the same world-wide economic depression which produced American Populism, ought to be considered in this connection. Both movements were democratic in the broad sense of the word, the main difference between them being that the one succeeded in dominating the political situation in its field, while the other did not. The reason for the success in Australasia and the failure in the United States is made clear by a New Zealand statesman, Mr. W. P. Reeves,¹ who has written in a recent article:

"He (the Australasian farmer) must have cheaper money if he is to live. If this be so when prices are at an average level, it is easy to understand that in years like 1893, 1894 and 1895, when depression was extreme, the bitter cry of the indebted farmer was heard very loudly indeed. Now the farmer and sheep-owner are not only relatively a more important economic element in the colonies than here (England) but they are more powerful in politics. The British globetrotter is told in Australasian clubs that the working men rule the colonies. The artisan and the shearer no doubt have their say in public affairs. But, one year and another, they are less powerful than the tillers and graziers. When, therefore, the latter were pressed to the wall in the bad times of 1893-95 it was natural that their governments should cast about for means to help them. In Australasia governments are, rightly or wrongly, expected to be of use in public emergency, and under the head of public emergency dull times are included."

¹"Colonial Governments as Money Lenders."—*National Review*, December, 1900.

The result was that in Australasia the governments became direct money-lenders to the farmers at cheap rates of interest and did various other interesting things of a radically socialistic nature, and are still doing them, all of which, in substance, our American Populists had desired their government to do for them.¹ Populism won in Australasia because Australasia is a new, undeveloped country, where capital and vested financial interests are still comparatively weak in politics. Populism lost in the United States because capital and vested financial interests are grown relatively very powerful here. The essentially democratic quality of the movement in each country, however, remains the same whether in victory or defeat.

In 1890 and 1892 American Populism displayed great political strength. Mr. Cleveland, although a conservative man of the most orthodox New York associations, profited by the Populist disaffection in his third campaign for the presidency. His political manager, Mr. W. C. Whitney, who was able to carry New York only by a plurality of 45,000, and without a majority over all, made astute use of the Western Populists by arranging fusions with them wherever there seemed to be a prospect of diverting electoral votes from General Harrison to General Weaver. How powerful that radical movement was in 1892, following the political upheaval of 1890, we can now appreciate by merely recalling the fact that the Populist candidate for President polled over a million popular votes and outdid all third party precedents by the strength he displayed in the electoral college.

Even independent votes were cast in the East for Mr. Cleveland on the ground that "predatory wealth" was becoming intrenched in the national government.² Mr.

¹ See also H. D. Lloyd's "Newest England," besides Mr. Reeves' *National Review* article. The platforms of the farmers' alliance in the early '90's may be referred to as well.

² "It is not surprising that labor, believing itself to be oppressed, soon rose in revolt, and civil war has actually raged this summer in four different sections of

Cleveland, too, permitted himself to show sympathy with that feeling by his denunciations of the "sordid" phases of a high tariff and by his public references to the Homestead strikes. The conservative Democratic stump that year was a hot place for "robber barons."

It may truthfully be said that the wave of discontent, which started with such tremendous momentum in the elections of 1890, swept Mr. Cleveland into his second term as President. Both from circumstances and personal temperament, Mr. Cleveland was unable to satisfy the radicalism that had placed him in power. He might have succeeded had his administration not been so terribly weighted with the world-wide industrial depression of 1893-97. As it was, even tariff reform, on which Mr. Cleveland had set his heart, was betrayed by the capitalistic group of the Democratic senators, and his administration finally stood at bay. It was violently condemned, on the one hand, by the Republican opposition as responsible for hard times, and on the other, it faced the furious radical force that had created it without a single achievement that could cause a glow in radicalism's soul. Even the income tax, which was a genuine concession to radical feeling, was overthrown by the Supreme Court. The mighty defence of the gold standard alienated the silverites, while the great railroad strikes of 1894 completed the political misfortunes of the Cleveland régime by making the Democratic administration the sponsor for certain drastic military and judicial measures which, however necessary they might have been, could not fail to be regarded with suspicion by a democracy already filled with jealousy of what it believed to be plutocracy's growing power in the state.

the country. And, of course, the farmers, paying more for what they buy and getting less for what they sell, grow poorer day by day; and excellent farms in some of the most fertile sections of this most highly protected state will hardly bring the cost of the buildings upon them."—Wayne MacVeagh's letter, in October, 1892, to J. W. Carter, Secretary of the Massachusetts Reform Club, announcing his intention to vote for Mr. Cleveland.

The complete overthrow of the conservative wing of the Democratic party at the Chicago convention of 1896, and the ensuing alliance between the radical wing and the Populists was now a matter of course. For the forces of discontent had been disappointed in the Democratic administration.

Now the history of the Democratic party not only shows that Democratic leadership, when in office, becomes conservative, but that when the leadership has grown markedly conservative the restless element of the party periodically asserts its supremacy over it and attempts to gain control of the government in behalf of the more democratic portion of the American people. The uprising of the early Jeffersonians against the Hamiltonians, which originated party government under the Constitution, the overthrow of the later Jeffersonians by the Jacksonians and, in our own time, the tremendous political phenomenon known as Bryanism seem to justify the statement of a principle that is peculiar to democracy. It is simply this, that democracy tends to burst conservative bonds, especially when plutocracy appears to threaten a suspicious democracy's instinctive ideals. It was Hamilton's aristocracy of wealth that the early Jeffersonians rose against; it was the power of wealth that the Jacksonians assaulted so furiously; and certainly enough is now known of the antecedents and characteristics of Bryanism to make it clear that the heart and soul of its grievance is the alleged menace of plutocracy. The three movements led respectively by Jefferson, Jackson and Bryan were spiritually the same. Whatever their excesses and crudities, all were anti-aristocratic and anti-plutocratic, and therefore, they were all essentially democratic.

The substantial identity of the Democratic uprising under Bryan with those under Jefferson and Jackson being recognized, a most important fact must now be faced. While the earlier movements attained success at the polls and became invested with all the responsibilities of government, this one has been repulsed at two presidential elections in succession.

Without the joy of victory, without the satisfaction of achievement, without the responsibilities of power, such as the Jeffersonians and the Jacksonians had, to soften its crudities and modify its radicalism, this force remains at large and the problem of its disposition or destination is one of the most interesting of our political future.

Bryanism is more than "16 to 1"; it is a state of mind. Even prosperity can do no more than quiet it for a time, while it can no more be annihilated by presidential defeats than can electricity or candle power.

The peculiar significance of Mr. Bryan's second defeat, then, appears as soon as we attempt to answer the question, what is to become of Bryanism?

A steadily-baffled radicalism may dissipate some of its energy, but the residuum of force must tend to grow more radical. That is where psychology steps in. If a dog finds his bone pulled constantly from under his nose he finally may become furious enough to plunge through a picket fence. It is noteworthy that some of the leading Populists of the early '90's have already become outspoken socialists.

Notwithstanding that he has been charged with being a socialist, Mr. Bryan, however, had not shown up to the last presidential election any tendency in his thinking toward socialistic ideas. The leader of the discontent movement, so far as it has had real force in the field of practical politics, Mr. Bryan, curiously enough, has been thoroughly old-fashioned in his theories. His own statement not long ago, that he did not hold a single political principle that was not one hundred years old, can be demonstrated by an analysis of his opinions on public questions. It is extraordinary that he should have been hotly denounced as socialistic by men who were in reality more socialistic in their conception of competition and trusts, for example, than he ever has been. Even Mr. Bryan's bimetallic theories, which are at the basis of his silverism, are old-fashioned and out of date rather than socialistic. And in the matter of "government

by injunction," or the power of equity courts to punish for contempt, his position is the one that was generally held by English and American jurists only thirty years ago. As a president, Mr. Bryan, burdened with the responsibility of power, would probably have remained far more conservative, however, than he will now in the rôle of free lance.¹

But Mr. Bryan personally can be left entirely out of consideration. He may or may not have a political future. He may or may not maintain a position of leadership in the Democratic party. Eliminate him entirely. The important point is that what is loosely known as Bryanism, and which is really a radical impulse based on human discontent, continues in a state of intellectual fluidity, which is the prime requisite of the acceleration characteristic of radicalism.

II

INFLUENCE OF IMPERIALISM

In order to sense the future from the standpoint of the present, it is necessary to extend one's view over the world-wide field of contemporary politics so that political influences of a world-wide character may be detected and examined.

Broadly speaking, the general elections of 1900 in both the great English-speaking countries were a triumph for what has come to be generally known as imperialism.² And the result seems to have been logical since it expressed the predominant spirit of the time. The imperialistic movement is world-wide and thus far has been irresistible, owing to the combination in its favor, whether in Germany, France, England, or the United States, of such mighty influences as

¹ This is already shown to be true by Mr. Bryan's public endorsement of an independent "municipal ownership" candidacy for the office of mayor of St. Louis in the spring of the present year, 1901.

² The writer will use this word, "imperialism," because it is used by all parties in Great Britain without protest; it is necessary also to have some one word to describe the expansion movement in the various countries of Europe and America to which reference will be made. No other word meets the requirements so well as this one.

the popular sentiment for the flag, modern finance and the missionary impulse of the Christian religion. Finance has demanded new markets, and the church, new or broader fields of evangelization. As for the flag, "who will haul it down?"

So far as the United States is concerned, the radical Democratic movement led by Mr. Bryan beat in vain against this imperialistic combination. The flag sentiment was against it; the evangelical church was against it on foreign missionary grounds, and "business" was against it because "business" was entirely content with the present situation and fearful of any change. Business interests in our time have grown proportionately stronger in politics than they were when they unsuccessfully fought Jefferson the century before. Von Holst¹ says that the Jeffersonians "were far inferior to the Federalists in the numbers and ability of their leaders; and moreover, the great moneyed interests of the Northern States were the cornerstone of the federal party."

In order, now, to project the future of the radical movement in America we must first consider the effect of imperialism, assuming it to continue unchecked, upon the party of the opposition.

There are signs that the party of the opposition along the old lines must suffer permanent disintegration. Two forces are attacking it, one economic, the other political. It is being disintegrated, from an economic standpoint, because the imperialist trade argument for territorial expansion, even with an accompanying militarism, is not being easily and readily controverted by those who adhere to the orthodox views of capitalism and competition. Business is always a practical, immediate question. The pressing problems in the world of industry and finance are the next dividend and the current rate of interest. In reality, "finance" never takes what is called a far look ahead for the simple reason that it must preserve itself in the imme-

¹ "Constitutional History of the United States," vol. 1, page 179.

diate future. If, therefore, owing to high industrial development at home, the interest rate has fallen to a low point in western commercial countries, and the field for the investment of the rapidly accumulating surplus of capital has become at the same time much narrowed, it follows that capital will seek at once fresh opportunities for investment, anywhere and everywhere, in order to keep itself employed and prevent the rate of interest from falling. In doing this capital will not look a century ahead ; it will consider its own immediate prospects.

Now it is perfectly clear, as some imperialist writers assert, that under the old order of things capital has reached a point in Europe and America when the home field for profitable investment is narrowing. The savings bank interest rate has fallen so low that in the eastern part of the United States no family man earning a small salary can hope to put by enough in the average working life to live on the income of his savings, when the time comes for him to retire because of advanced years or impaired vitality. These facts are universally admitted. And when the commercial imperialist, living in a world where high tariffs are still a weapon of trade rivalry between nations, presents his argument for territorial expansion, wherever extended sovereignty or government control may bring new markets—or preserve old ones—and bring new fields for investment within the grasp of capital, he bases it on those facts. How does the anti-imperialist, whose economics are of the same orthodox competitive school, meet the argument? Usually, he does not meet it at all, from the viewpoint of economics ; usually, he plants himself on certain moral principles hostile to war, conquest, militarism and on abstract political doctrines regarding freedom, self-government, the rights of man, and the right of nationality. But, when he does meet it, from the viewpoint of the old-fashioned political economy, does he meet it effectively? His answer fails, apparently, to sway the modern capitalist and manufacturer

because it projects the argument into the remote future, while "business" is thinking of the immediate future.

For example, the anti-imperialist, in answering the commercial imperialist, points out that the extension of our rule by force will entail such heavy expenses of war and administration upon the people at home that ultimately all the commercial profit from such adventure will be balanced by losses, and, in reality, the country as a whole will not be the gainer. Again, the anti-imperialist answers that while the commercial exploitation of such regions as China will probably open up new fields of investment for western capital, and thus tend to keep up the rate of interest, the time will come when those fields also will be exhausted, and then whither will capital turn? Again, he answers that in opening up these new fields of exploitation in the Orient the capitalist will so develop those countries that they will in time become manufacturing and capitalist countries themselves and, with their cheap labor, will surely begin a frightful industrial competition with our own people. The anti-imperialist answer, in short, while possessed of real strength, deals almost entirely in futures more or less remote. To every one of these points "business" is disposed to say, "sufficient unto the day is the squeezed lemon thereof," while it follows the law of its being by looking out for the main chance now. It cannot stop to theorize or prognosticate about ultimates when its chief concern is to provide for the next quarterly dividend. Nor will it be much disturbed over war taxes which the whole people, rather than any one set of interests, must bear.

At any rate, it is a startling fact that the old political opposition, whether in Germany,¹ Britain or the United States, is now split, or practically destroyed, along the line of the economic argument for imperialism. The anti-imperialist answer has no potency in Britain as a party life-preserver.

¹ The old liberal party of Germany has practically disappeared, and the only strong political force there opposed to imperialism is socialism.

Nearly the whole body of liberals who followed Mr. Chamberlain into the coalition with the tories in 1886 have become strong imperialists; indeed, none surpasses Mr. Chamberlain himself in the intensity of his imperialistic sentiment, although in his younger days he was a radical of the radicals in politics. Among the liberals of to-day the strong section which looks to Lord Rosebery for leadership is avowedly imperialistic. The political strength of anti-imperialism in Britain is now represented by an earnest wing of the old Gladstonians and the members of the Irish and social labor parties, in all having a comparatively weak influence at the present time upon British politics. The disintegration of the liberal party on this issue is complete, and probably one of the chief reasons for it—as clearly appears from the fact that London and all the great English industrial centres have become hotbeds of "Chamberlainism"—is the catchiness of the commercial argument for expansion and imperialism.

As for the United States, nothing has been more interesting than to observe that the gold Democrats, who are the capitalistic wing of the old Democratic party, have quickly developed strong imperialistic tendencies. It were an easy matter to mention influential newspapers of the gold Democratic and anti-Bryan character, such as the *New York Times* and *Brooklyn Eagle*, as well as prominent men, formerly supporters of Mr. Cleveland's two administrations, who are avowed advocates of the imperialistic policy on commercial grounds. It were also easy to show that in the South, where Mr. Bryan received all but thirteen of his electoral votes in the last presidential election, the commercial argument for imperialism has met with much favorable response. In view of the South's attitude toward the black race the response promises to be more favorable in the future.

One hazards nothing in saying that the former Democratic party of the United States, that is, the party which carried

Mr. Cleveland to victory in 1892, must remain hopelessly rent on the issue of imperialism.

Everywhere, also, the old opposition party is subject to the disintegrating, or paralyzing, effect of political forces that are peculiarly active during an imperialistic era. Approach this phase of the question *a priori* or inductively, as you please, and the conclusion is the same. Imperialism means the predominance of questions of foreign affairs in the politics of a nation, and the predominance of foreign affairs, for any length of time, means a weakening of party government through the weakening of the parliamentary opposition and the corresponding strengthening of the executive. For issues pertaining to foreign relations are always difficult for an opposition to handle owing to the feeling that party spirit should not pass beyond the three-mile limit. Criticism is more bitterly resented by those in power in matters of exterior policy than in affairs of domestic concern. The almost menacing cry, "Stand by the government"—right or wrong—is invariably heard when the government clashes with a foreign people or ruler. If such a crisis reaches actual war, however wicked the war may be, criticism of the party in power always shrinks in volume and the opposition as a whole becomes paralyzed. The slightest questioning of the government's policy is then construed as "unpatriotic" or "treason." In England Mr. Chamberlain, during the Boer war, has maintained exactly that attitude toward the critics of the government's policies.

That the national spirit should rise above party spirit in the stress of war time should be cordially conceded, yet no amount of patriotism can blind the clear thinker to the fact that the natural and most vital function of a parliamentary opposition grows atrophied while such a period lasts. Continue indefinitely, or for many years, a period in which international competition in its various phases entralls the attention of a people, and it follows that party government

must suffer. It is probable that, owing to the problems connected with the opening of China, for example, the western nations, including the United States, have already entered upon such a period of prolonged attention to foreign affairs. *A priori*, party government in such a period must decline; are there any signs that it has actually begun to decline?

"It does not admit of doubt," writes Professor Paul S. Reinsch,¹ "that modern imperialism tends to withdraw public interest from the fields within which party government can best exert its influence." Running over the great imperialistic powers of Europe, what do we find? In Russia the advantages of an absolutism for competing with rival powers in the new race for empire have been so clearly realized that the movement for more liberal political institutions has almost disappeared, outside the nihilistic groups, as an appreciable force. "Now that all the national energies (of Russia) are concentrated upon the expansion of the imperial domain," writes Professor Reinsch, "the growth of a party system on western models is less likely than ever—in fact, it is an impossibility." And Alfred Rambaud,² the French historian of Russia, has but lately written:

"Russia is the only European power which has an absolute government. Its autocratic feature, so fiercely assailed upon the accession of Nicholas I. by the 'Constitutionals' or 'Republicans' of 1825, and under Alexander II. by the Nihilist conspiracies, seems to have taken on a new life in the estimation of the Russian people, because, according to the expression of Prince Oukhtomski, it is the necessary condition of the greatness of their nation and of her 'supernatural' and providential mission in Asia."

M. Rambaud notes that this despotism is at least "thoughtful of the economic interests and the well-being of the Russian people, blending its ambitions with the legitimate aspirations of the nation." With the popular imagination

¹ "World Politics," page 328.

² "Expansion of Russia," page 85.

heated by the fascinating dream of world empire for the Slav race, the practical paralysis of the liberal movement in Russia has come as a matter of course.¹

As for Germany, it did not require the Kaiser's act in sending an army under Count Von Waldersee to China without consulting the Reichstag to show that recent years have marked a decline in Parliamentary government.² Bismarck had succeeded before his retirement in breaking up the old German party system by his attacks on the Roman Catholics, his persecution of the socialists, his abandonment of the national liberals and his later affiliations with the agrarians and high protectionists. The Kaiser's speeches, since he assumed his aggressive rôle in building up a colonial empire, have been a kind of bugle call to the German people to range themselves "in serried ranks" behind him, repudiating the party system, in order that German interests abroad might not suffer from dissensions at home.

The degeneracy of party government in France, owing to external ambitions, is well summed up by Professor Reinsch.³

Is there also a decline of party government to be observed in the countries where it has flourished most, since the rise of democracy? The wreck of the great Liberal party of Gladstone would seem to afford an affirmative answer, so far as Britain is concerned, and that the wreck is due in no small degree to the imperialistic lurch of the past twenty

¹ The disturbances, chiefly in the universities, reported from Russia this spring (1901), may seem to contradict this view. The writer, however, cannot discern that those disturbances, in the main, were other than students' outbreaks due to the harsh administration by the late minister of education, M. Bogaleipoff. (See dispatch from St. Petersburg in *New York Times* on April 21, 1901. See also the letter of Colonel W. R. Holloway, U. S. Consul General at St. Petersburg, to the editor of the *Indianapolis Journal*, reprinted in the *New York Times*, April 25, 1901.) The excommunication of Count Tolstoi may also have been a contributing cause of the disturbances.

² See "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," by A. Lawrence Lowell, vol. ii, page 54; "World Politics," by Professor Reinsch, page 329; also a letter by Professor Theodore Mommsen—"Militarism and Bismarckism have thoroughly driven out of them (Germans) all desire for self-government"—as quoted in a Berlin letter, dated October 15, 1900, printed in the *New York Evening Post*.

³ "World Politics," page 330.

years is clear. The Liberal party became great and masterful in British politics only when the Napoleonic struggle had been so far forgotten as to permit the people to turn their attention to domestic affairs, and it has declined again as soon as the empire found itself confronted with a desperate international rivalry in the outside world. Party government in Britain reached its culmination in the middle and later periods of the nineteenth century when politics was almost exclusively devoted to questions of domestic reform. Parliamentary institutions certainly entered upon a golden age after the English reform bill of 1832 and never was the House of Commons more powerful or more splendid than in the days of Cobden, Bright and Gladstone.

When King Edward VII. opened his first Parliament there were no seats and scarcely any standing room for the members of the House of Commons in the chamber where the royal spectacle was unfolded. This was cause for complaint. While petty as an issue, it seemed to some observers¹ to signify "a foretaste of a more serious depreciation." The revived importance of the crown was, indeed, a favorite topic of discussion in London papers after Victoria's death, and it is worth observing that the notion sprang from the fact that the crown is the visible link between the dependencies and the United Kingdom. In an imperialistic age, therefore, even the crown, to say nothing of the cabinet, gains in prestige.²

In examining the forces making for the disintegration of the opposition we may not omit certain other considerations of importance. Students of the effect of modern imperialism upon democratic institutions agree that an actual necessity will be manifested for the concentration of great powers

¹ Letter by Professor Goldwin Smith to *Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1901.

² Agreement on this point seems general in England. The *Spectator* not long ago said: "The power of government is nearly everywhere visibly passing to the cabinet." Professor James Bryce in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 5, 1901, declared: "Since 1880 the cabinet has grown in power at the expense of the legislature."

in the executive. The tendency in that direction is noted by two observers who are not in sympathy with each other on political issues. Professor Goldwin Smith¹ has written: "The tendency of imperialism to an increase of the power of the executive at the expense of the representative is already seen in England, where the House of Commons has of late been manifestly losing power while the ministry has manifestly been gaining it." The *Spectator* notes the same tendency and it intimates that such a tendency is toward absolutism.² The *Spectator* might well have noted not only the actual tendency, but the necessity for such a development in an imperialistic era chiefly characterized by intense competition between nations for political and commercial prestige. Imperialist testimony is not lacking, however, as to this requirement of the imperialistic system.³

Nor can anyone deny the real advantages in international competition which an absolutist government possesses. "No Parliament, therefore, no questionings, no blue or yellow books," writes M. Rambaud on this point in his "Expansion of Russia." "A restricted liberty of the press closes with respect the indiscreet lips of reporters and interviewers. Hence secrecy in both planning and executing is possible. There is no need of throwing dust in the eyes of Parliaments, of the newspapers and of the people; nor is there any need of brag, optimistic proclamations and of oratorical heroics. Great conquests can be accomplished silently." England was never more feared or more potent in foreign affairs than when she was ruled by the despot Cromwell. We must agree that concentration of power is an essential condition of the most successful international rivalry; and it follows that during an imperialistic era there will be a growing pressure, even in a democracy, to bring about all the concen-

¹ "Commonwealth of Empire."

² "Resolute opposition and the widest criticism of executive policy is not only legitimate but necessary; but the pulverizing of the parliamentary institution itself can make only for despotism."

³ "The United States as a World Power," by Charles A. Conant, the *Forum*, 1900.

tration of power in the executive necessary to successful competition.

Judge Simeon E. Baldwin,¹ of the Connecticut Supreme Court, points out that the powers of the president of the United States "have been steadily growing ever since that great office was created," and it is his opinion that they will continue to grow, as new occasions for their exercise arise. Already, he says, the President's great powers "make us fitter than most republics to play the part of a great power in large questions of diplomacy."² But there certainly can be no further concentration of powers in the executive of this republic without weakening parliamentary prestige and party opposition.

And, as a final consideration in this branch of the inquiry, we must remember that the old opposition must remain out of power substantially all the time while imperialism represents the nation's chief aspiration. It is no new thing in parliamentary government for one party to hold power for thirty, forty, even sixty years with only slight interruptions. The Democratic party of the United States held firmly the reins of government from 1800 down to 1860 with only such unimportant breaks as were occasioned by the Whig victories of 1840 and 1848, neither of which enhanced the strength of the Whigs nor weakened their opponents. From 1860 to the present day the Republicans have held power without more serious interruptions than the two terms of President Cleveland. The whole nineteenth century in American politics is thus seen to be divided into two grand divisions of time during which respectively one party or the other was practically supreme.

Under parliamentarianism, English politics have shown

¹ Article in *Yale Review*, 1901.

² An extension of the executive powers already under way is embodied in the so-called "Platt Amendment," providing for the organization of the government of Cuba. As the medium for intercourse with foreign governments, and as the enforcer of treaties the President will gain more power than will Congress from the arrangement.

the same phenomena. There was a long period of Whig ascendancy after the revolution of 1688, extending down to the accession of George III. and after, and then followed the Tory supremacy, beginning with the younger Pitt's ministry in 1783, and lasting until the political revolution of which the reform bill of 1832 was the culminating legislative expression. Then arose the modern Liberal party of England whose period of domination in British politics was but little broken for sixty years.

Viewed in the perspective of the two centuries of parliamentary government since the flight of King James II. it is evident that government by any one party broadly tends to run in cycles of many years' duration. Intelligent people scarcely need to be told that this tendency has a reason for being. In the evolution of nations the people in certain periods have different activities, different opportunities, different aspirations from those in other periods. After the flight of James II. with the ghost of monarchical absolutism, the party which was the special advocate and defender of parliamentary rule inevitably and logically had possession of the government most of the time until the reaction arose against the corrupt Whig aristocracy. During the first half of the eighteenth century the Whig nobles, whose political philosopher was Locke, represented the aversion to monarchical despotism and "popery," then the leading political instinct or idea of the English people. The later Tory domination represented not only the reaction against Whig rule and Whig corruption, but the popular spirit of antagonism to the exterior Napoleonic system, which England conceived to be hostile to English growth, and English freedom. The great Liberal supremacy during the larger portion of the nineteenth century was the expression of the Democratic impulse toward ecclesiastical, criminal law and fiscal reform, modern industrial development and the political emancipation of the masses.

In the United States, the respective periods of supremacy

enjoyed by the opposing parties for so many years, have manifestly been but expressions of the prevailing spirit of the American people—democracy showing more the particularist, centrifugal and anti-aristocratic tendencies not unnatural in the earlier part of the republic's life, and the Republicans of the later era responding to the passion for strong nationality, and to the demands of the prodigiously expanding industrial power of a young and favored people.

That the occasional interruptions in these long periods of party supremacy, caused by the passing of power for a brief stage to the opposition, have been of slight significance appears in the fact that at such times the opposition's lease of power has often been attended by highly important acts in harmony with the general policy of its great antagonist. Sir Robert Peel, who found himself at the fag end of the Tory period, was put into office as an anti-Catholic, but he carried Catholic emancipation. He was the leader of the English protectionists, but he carried free trade. So, too, Disraeli, another leader of the Tories, once "dished the Whigs" by carrying a liberal measure extending the franchise. John Tyler's nominal Whig presidency was notable for its designs upon Texas, which were as far as possible from Whig principles. Mr. Fillmore's administration protected slavery. And the supreme achievement of the presidency of Mr. Cleveland was the successful defence and maintenance of a monetary system which was at heart antagonized by the majority of his own party in Congress and supported by a majority of the party to which Mr. Cleveland was opposed.

What are the ultimate effects of these long periods of supremacy for one party upon the party of the opposition? Our historical perspective through two centuries of English and American politics cannot leave us in doubt. The effects are disuse, division, decay. The old party, reduced for a prolonged period to opposition, has had to be regenerated, often with a new name, before beginning a fresh era of

domination. Glance backward and observe certain facts. The English Tories who succeeded the English Whigs in power late in the eighteenth century were by no means the same party, in working program, as the Tories who had supported the Stuarts in their claims to rule by divine right. The Liberals who, early in the nineteenth century, snatched away the supremacy of the Tories, were different from the old Whigs from whom they had descended. And the conservatives, or unionists, in our own day who have finally brought, as it appears, the long period of Liberal ascendancy to an end, are not the same, in domestic politics at least, as those stout old Tories, their forbears, who believed that the reform bill and free trade and Catholic emancipation would throw Britain into unspeakable ruin. Coming to the United States again, we find that during the long period of Democratic ascendancy from 1800 down to 1860 the party of the opposition disintegrated and changed its name no less than twice—Federalist became Whig, and Whig became Republican before the party of Lincoln, Grant and McKinley began its prolonged lease of power.

So the disuse of a party leads to its decay; while parliamentary history in England and America seems to teach that the assumption of power for a lengthy period, during which a party must be the organic expression of a dominant national feeling or aspiration, presupposes a distinct change in the character of the party as compared with what it was in former periods of ascendancy.

If these principles be applied to the political situation in America to-day—granting that imperialism is to be the dominant idea in the immediate future—then it is highly probable, if not inevitable, that the party which has been pretty steadily in opposition since the Civil War will suffer still further disintegration from its prolonged inactivity in responsible government, and will finally undergo an important transformation in character before again becoming the organized political expression of the national life.

The cumulative effects of the new American imperialism upon the opposition party are now seen to be broadly destructive from various viewpoints, economic, political and historical. In politics, however, as in nature, decay may be coincident with growth. The decay of vegetation means the deposit of beds of coal. Energy may change its form, but it cannot be destroyed. While an old political party in democracies is undergoing dissolution, you may be sure that at the same time a new one is springing into life. Now, two things are manifest: first, however prolonged may be the supremacy of the imperialistic spirit, it must sometime burn itself out and be succeeded by some other; second, the field will then be open to the party—fresh in vitality although it may be old in name—which will have grown into being and slowly have swelled with vigor during the imperialistic régime, and which will have become the expression of the newly developed longings of the people.

III

THE SHADOW OF SOCIALISM

That the new party entity of the future—dimly forecasted perhaps—will be distinguished for socialistic proclivities must by this time have been suggested to the discerning mind.¹ In order to appreciate the full power of socialism

¹ Professor Edward Dicey, referring to British politics, has made this forecast: "Thus, if I am not mistaken, the liberal party of the future, under whatever name it may be known, will be a radical party with socialist proclivities. Such a party, whatever may be the predilections of its individual members, must of necessity be anti-imperialistic."—"The Downfall of Liberalism." *Fortnightly Review*, November, 1900.

Mr. John Morley has said "that the day when the Liberal party forsook its old principles (referring to anti-imperialism and anti-militarism) the Liberal party would have to disband and to disappear. . . . The socialists would take its place. He had in the past set his back to the wall against the socialists, but if he were to choose between the socialist and the militarist with all his random aims, his profusion of the national resources, his disregard of the rights and feelings of other people he considered the socialist's standards were higher, and his means were no less wise."—Address before the Palmerston Club at Oxford, 1900, as reported by the *London Chronicle*.

As for the United States, the New York *Sun*, Republican and conservative, said

to attract those who are always sure to be out of sympathy with the imperialistic spirit, it must be scrutinized without prejudice, and, if anything, with a touch of sympathy. In such a spirit, therefore, without attempting any profound or comprehensive analysis of socialism as a philosophy of humanity or a system of economics, let us briefly suggest its possible points of potency as they may present themselves in the minds of the scattered opposition.

Socialism seems to be the only system that can or will aggressively combat the economic argument for imperialism. Reduced to the lowest terms, that argument is the necessity for widening markets. Under the present order of society in the most civilized and most populous portions of the western world, the new markets must be found, it seems, almost anywhere but at home; yet no fact is more obvious than that the real *consuming* power, as contrasted with the *purchasing* power, of our own people has never been tested. When the products of American looms seek purchasers in China is it because there are no people left in America who desire or need those products, no people who would buy them if they could pay the price asked for them? The truth is that every great city has tens of thousands, and every town its hundreds, who have an enormous capacity for consumption which they cannot begin to satisfy; while the whole United States contains millions of people whose

editorially, January 3, 1901: "The Democratic party can never again be what it was before. . . . The issue of imperialism may assume a shape which will be less artificial than that it had in the last campaign, but it will be joined with radical social theories or be subordinated by them and made incidental only. It seems inevitable that the Democratic party of the future should become the expression of popular discontent with the conditions of material progress established and of resistance to them."

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* wrote, November 23, 1900: "J. G. Shanklin, who has long been prominent in the Democratic politics of Indiana, proposes that the party should at once invade the field of Socialism. 'It should declare,' he says, 'for the initiative and referendum, for government ownership of all public utilities, for bimetallism, for an income tax, and for the election of United States Senators and other officers of the government by direct vote of the people. . . . Socialism seems to be the coming policy of government. If the Democratic party does not take it up, I believe there will be a new party.'"

poverty alone prevents them from consuming very many times more of the products of the nation than it is now their lot to consume even in the heyday of prosperity. During seasons of hard times we are familiar with the spectacle of production being curtailed while the army of the unemployed grows like a mushroom and the soup houses cannot be opened fast enough to keep honest and able-bodied folks from starving.

Socialism may be all wrong, but in meeting the economic argument for imperialism it will at least be able to point to the undeveloped consuming power of the people at home as an answer to the demand for new markets abroad that must be appropriated and held through the costly and bloody sacrifices of the sword. Socialism at least will not be timid in charging this under-development of the home market upon the old industrial order, and in attempting to show that commercial imperialism is itself essentially a confession of the economic failure of the old industrial system.

And socialism will also show that imperialism is but a postponement of the final reckoning among the great forces of international and national competition, that it offers no ultimate solution of the industrial problem which the competitive system has left to us. The world does not contain an endless round of new foreign markets, or virgin fields for the investment of surplus capital. The earth is but 25,000 miles in circumference and the era of "commercial exploitation" in strange lands is as sure to end as the age of geographical exploration. The present "undeveloped" countries will before long be developed and then we shall see surplus capital again racing ahead of its opportunities for investment. Give to China the utmost value as a field for commercial exploitation, and you must still face the time when China, so far as foreigners are concerned, will be in the condition of a squeezed lemon. And finally we must face a China transformed into a commercial competitor of untold power by the introduction of this same capital and

these same mechanic arts on which the West now bases its own supremacy. What must happen when the "jumping off place" in the hunt for new markets abroad has been reached? Must not an economic philosophy of the intensive rather than that of the expansive in industry then capture the field?

The socialistic assault upon commercial imperialism will not be weakened, meanwhile, by the insistence of the imperialistic writers¹ upon the highest possible development of the trust as a necessary agency in a successful struggle for supremacy in foreign markets. It amounts to this, the imperialists propose to destroy the principle of competition at home in order the more successfully to meet the conditions which the principle of competition imposes upon them abroad.

How far do they think they could go in such a process without pulling the whole house down over their heads? By the time the imperialists had reached the limit in the hunt for new foreign markets—and reach it they would even if the United States should become supreme in every market of the world—surely, the transition from the reign of private monopoly to the reign of public monopoly, or to the reign of socialism, would have been rendered all the easier. For consider the moral and intellectual effect upon the people of such a spectacle as this—an economic system destroying itself at home in order to maintain itself abroad. The sight of it could hardly be used as an argument to withstand the assault of socialism upon the entire régime of private monopoly. The economic process

¹ See "The United States as a World Power," by Charles A. Conant, the *Forum*; also, especially, "The New Industrial Revolution," by Brooks Adams, the *Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1901. Mr. Adams writes: "The trust must be accepted as the corner-stone of modern civilization, and the movement toward the trust must gather momentum until the limit of possible economics has been reached. . . . Should America be destined to prevail in the struggle for empire which lies before her, those men will rule over her who can best administer masses vaster than anything now existing in the world, and the laws and institutions of our country will take the shape best adapted to the needs of the mighty engines which such men shall control."

would too much resemble a hungry snake swallowing itself by the tail, to be lost upon the humorous instincts of the American people.

Socialism at another point may prove capable of attracting the opposition because it is antagonistic to militarism and the processes of military conquest. According to all experience, imperialism involves militarism. Socialism, therefore, will be in a position to profit by the popular reaction against military burdens and losses, military influences and ideals. Its humanitarian and idealistic regarding the masses of the people, socialism at least furnishes a strong contrast to the materialistic, coercive and often bloody phases of imperialism, and, therefore, it may easily draw to it the humanitarians and idealists who can never find their conceptions of life and government embodied in the moral philosophy of the stock exchange, Machiavellian diplomacy and the rapid-fire gun.

Socialism, furthermore, is not antagonistic to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It demands equality in the broadest sense—whether or not it could bestow it—in the industrial as well as in the political world. As for liberty, it asserts that no economic liberty is possible under the régime of private monopoly which the imperialistic writers regard as the next step in the progress of the age. Nor does socialism deny, like the imperialist philosophers, that just government rests upon "the consent of the governed."

The celebrated "consent" doctrine, which is associated so closely with the American Declaration of Independence, is necessarily repudiated by all imperialists. To Lincoln that doctrine was more sacred than any religious creed. But American imperialists in our time treat it as an outworn or discredited piece of "eighteenth century philosophy."¹

¹ "Governments," said Senator Platt of Connecticut, "derive their just powers from the consent of 'some of the governed.'" Senator Lodge refers to it as a

While the exact philosophic and scientific significance of the "consent" doctrine, as a principle of government, may be hard to determine, it must still be recognized as a permanent force in affairs. It is an error to say that it originated with Rousseau. We can readily trace "the consent of the governed" doctrine back to the English philosophers, Locke and Hooker. The truth is that the doctrine of "consent" is inseparable from the doctrine of "the sovereignty of the people." And the doctrine of popular sovereignty is historically at the base of Democratic institutions.¹ If the "consent" doctrine has no future then Democratic institutions are doomed to perish.²

The "consent" doctrine, in short, is not only as old as the idea of democracy itself; it must always find earnest protagonists in people who are most sincerely devoted to democratic principles and institutions. It is a matter of some consequence, therefore, that while imperialism minimizes or denies the vitality of the doctrine, socialism must recognize it as being a sound and living principle. On that account, socialism will become the more attractive, or tolerable, to the true adherents of democratic ideals during an imperialistic régime.

No consideration of the "drawing" power of socialism would be complete or satisfactory, in this connection, without calling special attention to the close relation in so many minds between imperialism and plutocracy. It is not

mere "aphorism," a "fair phrase that runs trippingly on the tongue." The *New York Outlook* has thrown it over entirely, saying, "We do not believe that governments rest upon the consent of the governed;" while a Chicago clergymen, Rev. Dr. P. S. Henson, has been quoted as damning it beyond hope of resurrection in these vigorous words: "There never was a greater falsehood palmed off by the devil on a credulous world."

¹ See Gierke's "Political Theories of the Middle Age," translated from the German by Maitland, pages 37-48 and 92-93.

² See "English Political Philosophy," page 62, by William Graham, Professor of Jurisprudence at Queen's College, Belfast. Commenting on Locke's theory of "consent," which was borrowed and amplified by Rousseau, Professor Graham writes: "It is true that unless they (governments) finally rest on the unforced and willing consent or agreement of the people or the majority they are not free governments."

necessary, of course, to show that plutocracy supports imperialism, when imperialistic writers in America make so much of foreign markets and defend the development of trusts as requisite to industrial and diplomatic supremacy abroad. The notorious facts of the time in China, South Africa, the Philippines and other fields of imperialistic activity reveal the zest and "go" that commercialism gives to imperialism. When Germany began establishing her colonial empire Bismarck frankly declared that these new possessions were regarded not so much as fields for German colonization as markets to be developed for the products of German industry.

The growing power of this imperialistic plutocracy is alarming a great many people.¹ Wealth, historically considered, has never been in cordial sympathy with democratic aspirations. Its social cravings have been for privilege and aristocracy, an illustration of which to-day is the growing social alliance between American millionairedom and the old world nobility. Nor is history without examples of the subjugation of democracy by mere wealth.² Since plutocracy is the main objective of socialism's assault, it seems reasonable that socialism, under an imperialistic régime, would attract those who regard the imperialistic movement as essentially plutocratic, and who hold that plutocracy instinctively and inevitably threatens popular institutions.

And now let us pass in review some of the evidence as to the antagonistic relation actually existing between imperialism and socialism. "In Germany to-day," writes Theodor Barth,³ "the Social Democracy appears as the most numerous political party of the German empire," and its growth, he adds, "has taken place mainly at the cost of the old Liberal party, and has been chiefly responsible for that party's

¹ Professor Sumner, of Yale University, has said that the great issue of the future is "plutocracy against democracy."

² See "Commonwealth or Empire," by Professor Goldwin Smith.

³ "Modern Political Germany," *International Monthly*, August, 1900.

remarkable loss of immediate influence in Germany." This great Socialist party is anti-imperialistic and from its ranks comes the great bulk of, as well as the harshest of, the German criticism of the Kaiser's adventures of aggression in such countries as China. It is a striking fact that German socialism has grown most since the government embarked upon its colonial policy. Although Ferdinand Lassalle founded the Social Democratic party as early as 1862, the German socialists were many years in making any real impression upon parliamentary life. In 1871 the Socialists elected but three members to the Reichstag; in 1887, eleven. But in October, 1900, there were fifty-eight Socialist members, and recent predictions¹ are that in the next general election the Socialist party in Germany will win 100 seats out of the total of 397, and poll at least 3,000,000 popular votes. The modern colonial policy of Germany was founded substantially in the decade ending in 1890. Ever since the election of 1887 the German Socialists have made steady and alarming gains.²

The case of Italy is also of interest. The Italian Socialists are anti-imperialistic, being opposed to foreign adventure and a burdensome militarism. In the elections of 1892 their candidates for Parliament polled only 27,000 votes; in 1895 they polled 80,000. Crispi's world-power ambition with its ruinous expenditure was now in full progress, and twelve Socialist deputies soon appeared in Parliament. The Italian military disaster in Abyssinia came in March, 1896, and since then Italy has had much of the expense but none of the glory of a "spirited foreign policy." The Italian Socialists, meanwhile, have been gaining ground steadily. In the last elections they scored a real triumph, and, with the small

¹ Berlin dispatch to London *Chronicle* in October, 1900.

² See Berlin letter, dated October 15, 1900, in *New York Evening Post*, which quotes Professor Hans Delbrueck as saying: "The most interesting among the German political parties to-day is unquestionably the Social-Democratic. It is the only one harboring problems, the only one holding out a probability of future development; and it also is, to judge by the number of votes cast for it at the Reichstag elections, by far the strongest numerically. The other parties are all more or less in a state of petrification."

groups of republicans and radicals, increased the strength of the "extreme left" in Parliament to about one hundred deputies. And it has come to pass that Victor Emanuel III. has welcomed "radicals or socialists" in the cabinet.¹ The influence of this anti-imperialist, Socialist party in Italy is so great that the Zanardelli ministry, coming soon after King Humbert's assassination, has made the reduction of taxes, particularly military burdens, a leading point in its program.

Nor is the relation between imperialism and Socialism any less distinct in France. In the general election of October, 1877, there were elected to the French Chamber of Deputies 96 Monarchists, 112 Bonapartists and 325 Republicans. The writer can find no mention of Socialists being returned at that time, and it is certain that as a party, or group, they had not then made an appearance in the parliament of the republic. The curious fact, already observed in German and Italian politics, is now plainly discernible in French politics, namely, that the rapid increase of the parliamentary strength of Socialism is coincident with the development of the imperialist or colonial policy. The modern French colonial empire, in the main, was founded in the '80's of the nineteenth century. With the Socialists scarcely an appreciable or known factor in the Chamber of 1880, the Jules Ferry policy of forcible territorial enlargement began in 1881 with the French invasion of Tunis. French aggression in Indo-China came in May, 1883, and the placing of Madagascar under the French protectorate in December, 1885. The Marquesa group of Pacific Islands was seized in September, 1888. In April, 1892, came the expedition against Dahomey in West Africa. From the Tunis invasion of 1881 down to the Fashoda collision with England in 1899 France was constantly at work extending her colonial empire, and not without serious and costly wars in Tonquin and Madagascar.

¹"The Situation in Italy," by Salvatore Cortesi, in *The Speaker* (London), February 23, 1901.

Professor Lowell,¹ in his brief history of French parties under the Third Republic, does not mention the Socialists as a party until the election of 1893 is reached. Tabulating the results of that election a French authority² credits the Socialists with 49 members of the Chamber of Deputies, as distinguished from the Radicals who won 122 seats. Therefore, French parliamentary Socialism had risen from substantially nothing, during the twelve years of foreign aggression, to a membership of 49 and an established status in French politics. The spring election of 1898 witnessed a further increase of Socialist strength, the composition of the Chamber after that test of the electorate being as follows: Republicans, 254; Radicals, 104; Radical-Socialists, 74; Socialists, 57; Rallied, 38; Reactionaries, 44; Nationalists, 10. Together the Socialists and Radical-Socialists, closely allied groups, made the largest party in the Chamber, except the Republicans. And this was seventeen years after the colonial policy was put in operation.

In the elections of 1898, it is of interest to recall that M. Meline, the conservative Republican leader, expressed confidence that the French people would choose deputies "firmly resolved to fight with vigor and without compromise the social revolutionary party." Yet he was mistaken. Socialism gained ground. And the parliamentary situation in the winter of 1900-01, nearly twenty years after the invasion of Tunis, revealed a ministry, that of Waldeck-Rousseau, which rested partly upon Socialist votes, and which had a Socialist, M. Millerand, as one of its members. The French Socialists, like the others, are anti-imperialistic, or anti-colonial and anti-militarist. Pierre de Coubertin³ complains of that in discussing the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry and its program. "Together with Roman Catholicism," he writes, "military institutions and colonial expansion were denounced as the Republic's most dangerous enemies."

¹ "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," vol. i, page 94.

² Daniel, "L'Année Politique" for 1893, page 281.

³ "France on the Wrong Track," *American Review of Reviews*, April, 1901.

Socialism in Britain, while much less powerful, is no less anti-imperialistic than on the continent.¹ The Social Democrats, led by Hardie and John Burns, were intensely opposed to "Chamberlainism" in the recent parliamentary elections and they managed to hold their seats in the House of Commons, notwithstanding the war fever that prevailed in the country. Kier Hardie looks forward to the final struggle between liberalism and socialism for the supremacy in the opposition.² So far as Britain is concerned, also, not only is the existing political group that is called socialistic hostile to imperialism, but a portion of the old Liberal party is already socialistic.³ While it is true that most of the strongest liberal anti-imperialists are opposed to socialism, John Morley's attitude⁴ indicates that they would finally go with the socialistic wing as a last resort to fight imperialism.

In the United States we must again observe the fact that all the socialistic parties are anti-imperialistic. The labor unions are anti-imperialistic, notably the American Federation of Labor, the most influential of them all. The Populist party has had anti-imperialistic alongside its socialistic tendencies. In 1896 the Populist national platform adopted

¹ See "Election Issues," *The Labor Leader and Socialist Herald of London and Glasgow*, September 22, 1900.

² "Whatever amiable and good-hearted members of the Liberal party may think, those who control its destinies see clearly that between the commercialism of liberalism and the socialism of the Independent Labor party there can be no union . . . The struggle which is going on to-day is really one for supremacy. Either commercialism must swallow and absorb the socialist movement, or the socialist movement must gather to itself those sections of the community on which liberalism depends for its support, and thereby become the dominant factor."—Kier Hardie.

³ A member from Edinburgh, William McEwan, a free trade liberal of the old school, and also an anti-imperialist, declared about four years ago: "Ten years ago the party became tainted with the new Liberalism, which is really Collectivism . . . It is evident that we have now in the Liberal party two antagonistic forces—the one the old Liberalism, based on Liberty, the other the new Liberalism, based on Collectivism, based on Socialism and tyranny. These two forces can no more be blended or harmonized than water with oil. Sooner or later they will come into collision, and when that day comes, I am afraid a reconstruction of parties will be inevitable."—Quoted in *National Review*, January, 1901, in article on "The Political Transformation of Scotland."

⁴ See Morley's Palmerston Club speech.

at St. Louis called for postal savings banks, government ownership and operations of railroads, government ownership and the operation of the telegraphs, and the initiative and referendum—which showed the socialistic tendency. In 1900, the same party denounced the extension of American sovereignty to the Far East—which showed its hostility to imperialism.

The influence of Populism upon the old Democratic party must necessarily be socialistic, after successive campaigns of close alliance between the two. The trust and plutocracy issue in the presidential campaign of 1900 was pressed by Mr. Bryan on old-fashioned lines of individualism and competition without gaining any apparent response from the electorate. Yet one of the inner managers¹ of the Democratic campaign tells us that when certain Democratic nominees for Congress (1900) frankly advocated the destruction of monopoly by government assumption of monopoly enterprises, "in each case such candidates ran far ahead of their party tickets." This is a significant fact if it reveals in America that tendency of anti-imperialistic democracy toward socialism, which this discussion had already led us to expect, rather than toward individualism.

"It looks," says a conservative political observer,² "as if the line of divergence between the two parties would take this direction: The Republican party would become imperialistic and the Democratic party socialistic. Just what form these tendencies will take in another campaign cannot be foretold, but evidence is abundant that this will be the basis of the line of division."³ But let us be cautious and say

¹ Willis J. Abbott, in the *Forum*, February, 1901.

² Washington correspondence of New York *Evening Post*, January 15, 1901.

³ The results of the spring municipal elections of 1901 in Toledo, Cleveland, Chicago and St. Louis are a confirmation of this forecast. In the two cities first named Democratic mayors, Jones and Johnson, were elected on municipal ownership platforms, Mr. Johnson even advocating the single tax theory. In Chicago, Harrison, Democrat, was elected largely because of his opposition to the street railway company's demands in franchise matters: while in St. Louis, the bolting Democratic, or Bryan, candidate for mayor, running on a municipal ownership

simply that the opposition party, sooner or later, will probably develop on socialistic lines, provided that the régime of imperialism has its run.

The supremacy of the South in the present Democratic party cannot be considered much of a bar to that party's socialistic development since the imperialism of the Republican party, with its now necessary doctrine of inferior races, is calculated more than anything else to win support there for the Republican organization. Imperialism will end the "Solid South" if ever anything can do it. For the negro has been the primary cause of political solidarity in the old slave states. Now that the Republican party, turned imperialistic, has virtually accepted the South's view of the negro race, the centripetal force of Southern political life must disappear.¹

Looking through the vista of years in both Europe and America, socialism seems to be the logical antithesis, with its domestic radicalism, to the imperialistic spirit with its financial burdens, its military conquests and its race dominations abroad. The old Democratic party of 1874-92 in the United States can no more be restored than it was possible for the House of Bourbon to revive the *ancien régime* after the downfall of Napoleon. The Revolution had left an impress upon France which no extreme of reaction could remove. And so the revolution of Bryanism has left ineffaceable marks upon the Democratic party.

While imperialism continues to embody the chief aspirations of the American people the opposition will probably be unable to develop a political organization which will for long be intrusted with government. But out of the wreck

platform, polled about 30,000 votes as against 43,000 and 35,000 respectively for the two leading candidates. In Kansas City, too, the Democrats carried the city on the municipal ownership issue, and it was their first victory in years.

¹ "I find we have passed the point where the white people from necessity were arrayed on one side to protect their civilization, with the negro race on the other, and can now afford to divide on paramount political issues, as in other states."—Ex-Senator M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, as reported in the *Baltimore Sun*, April 22, 1901.

of the present opposition there will spring, as conditions may determine, a party of great and growing vitality that some day will dominate the land, simply because it will meet the requirements of a new age. "It is no longer possible to mistake the reaction against democracy," Professor Woodrow Wilson¹ has recently written concerning democratic institutions. There will, however, be a reaction to democracy again in good time.

If we must concede that the present imperialistic movement is inevitable as a stage in evolution, the socialist more than any other, perhaps, can see in it the forerunner of his ideal universally applied in the world's affairs. While completely antagonistic to socialism under present conditions, imperialism may break a path for socialism to follow along. Imperialism may tend to bring the various nations into a closer knowledge of and community with each other. By consolidating small states, reorganizing the undeveloped and eliminating the decrepit ones, it may do for the world in politics what competition has ruthlessly done for our most advanced industrial societies. The world is very far from preparedness for socialism, even if it be a coming system; no one nation could adopt it successfully unless the world as a whole had attained some quiescence from military or commercial wars. It may be, as Mr. Roosevelt predicts, that imperialism will finally command universal peace. In that event, socialism would find more favorable world conditions for trial.

But whatever the ultimate results may be, socialism promises to grow as a protest to imperialism, as the force which offers the most available and central rallying point for the opposition, as the ideal which most fully focuses all forms of human discontent. If there must be imperialism, its antithesis, it would seem, must be socialism. Such is the conclusion, however unwelcome it may be to many minds, to which this examination of present political tendencies now brings us.

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THE SUPREME COURT AND THE INSULAR CASES.

The decisions in the Insular cases mark the most extraordinary division of opinion in the history of the Supreme Court. In the two most important cases—*De Lima vs. Bidwell*, and *Downes vs. Bidwell*—the conclusions of the court were announced by Mr. Justice Brown. In the former he was supported by The Chief Justice, and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham; in the latter his concurring associates were Justices White, Shiras, McKenna and Gray; The Chief Justice and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham dissenting. To add to the complexity of the situation the conclusions reached by Mr. Justice Brown in the *Downes* case are supported by a totally different course of reasoning by the concurring Justices. In fact, in the concurring opinion of Justices White, Shiras and McKenna it is distinctly stated that while concurring in the decree affirming the judgment in the *Downes* case, the grounds upon which the judgment is based are "different from, if not in conflict with those" expressed in Mr. Justice Brown's opinion.

The series of opinions brings up in acute form the question of the desirability of elaborate dissenting opinions. If certainty is the highest desideratum of law, there can be no doubt that the criticism by the minority, of principles laid down by the majority of the members of the court, hardly conduces to this end. It furthermore tends to reduce the dignity of the decisions of the tribunal, and to that extent diminishes their authority. In the income tax cases this danger first became clearly apparent, but it is greatly increased in the Insular cases, owing to the fact that the majority of the court is divided four to one in the reasoning supporting their conclusions.

The decisions have served to bring out with great clearness the peculiar position occupied by the Supreme Court. Unlike any other tribunal, it is at times called upon to pass on

questions which, while legal in form, are political in substance, profoundly affecting the fabric of our institutions. Dissenting opinions on such questions are usually characterized by a tone of criticism which is not calculated to foster respect for the Constitution nor to increase the stability of our institutions. It is true that "government by discussion" might suffer by the failure to present both sides of every important question, and it is likely that most of the objections to the present form of dissenting opinion would disappear if the dissenting Justices would confine themselves to the more positive exposition of their views rather than attempt a destructive rebuttal of the reasoning of the majority.

The court distinguishes three periods in the status of Porto Rico. The first is embraced between the date of military occupation and the ratification of the treaty of peace, during which time the Island remained foreign territory so far as the revenue laws are concerned, and customs duties could therefore be imposed under the war power. The second period begins with the ratification of the treaty and closes with the passage of the Foraker Act. In the opinion of the court the effect of such ratification was to make Porto Rico domestic territory, and to take it out of the class of "*foreign countries*," within the meaning of the Dingley Revenue Act. The collection of customs duties on Porto Rican products during this second period is therefore declared to have been illegal. These two questions were decided in the De Lima and Dooley cases.

The third period begins with the establishment of civil government, and was the subject of consideration in the Downes case. The court here makes a distinction between "those prohibitions of the Constitution such as go to the very root of the power of Congress, to act at all, irrespective of time or place, and such as are operative only" *throughout the United States* or among the several states. Porto Rico, it is held, while belonging to the United States, is not a part

of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. The court clearly intimates that the power of Congress with respect to the territories is not absolute. All those provisions which specifically restrict the competency of Congress are quite as applicable in the territories as in the states. "Thus, when the Constitution declares that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed, it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill of that description." This would seem to make the bill of rights contained in the first eight amendments applicable to Porto Rico. In order to avoid the appearance of passing definitely upon this point the court says: "We do not wish, however, to be understood as expressing an opinion how far the bill of rights contained in the first eight amendments is of general, and how far of local application."

To appreciate the full import of the decisions and the radically divergent views presented in the majority and minority opinions, it is necessary to make a brief analysis of each. The three cases—*Dooley vs. United States*, *De Lima vs. Bidwell* and *Downes vs. Bidwell*—present in logical order the questions examined by the court.

The case of *Dooley vs. United States* was the first involving the validity of duties collected prior to the ratification of the treaty of Paris. It also involved duties collected subsequent to such ratification, but as this question is more fully discussed in the *De Lima* and *Downes* cases, it is only necessary to examine the *Dooley* case with reference to the one question, namely, the validity of customs duties collected prior to the eleventh of April, 1899. On this point, and on this point alone, the court is unanimous. The exactation of customs duties during this period is justified as an exercise of the war power. "Upon the occupation of the country by the military forces of the United States the authority of the Spanish government was superseded, but the need for a revenue did not cease. The government must be carried on, and there was no one left to administer

its functions but the military forces of the United States. Money is requisite for that purpose, and money could only be raised by order of the military commander. The most natural method was by the continuation of existing duties."

The validity of duties collected subsequent to the ratification of the treaty of Paris, but prior to the establishment of civil government, was involved in the De Lima case. Mr. Justice Brown delivered the opinion of the court; The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring. Two dissenting opinions were filed, one by Mr. Justice McKenna (Justices Shiras and White concurring), the other by Mr. Justice Gray.

In comparing the majority and minority opinions the most striking difference is in the relative importance given to the factor of "expediency." The majority opinion adopts certain hard and fast rules of interpretation, and shows an evident disinclination to give any weight to the inconvenience which might result to the political organs of the government because of such interpretation. The minority opinion, on the other hand, contains a broad treatment of the relation between the different departments of the government, and it is easy to detect a settled determination to leave to Congress and the Executive a free hand in dealing with our new possessions. The minority seems to be impressed with the fact that the power and influence of the Supreme Court of the United States has been largely maintained through well settled traditions of judicial self-control, which has led the court, whenever possible, to avoid placing obstacles in the way of the political organs of the government when dealing with great questions of public policy.

To the majority, the question to be decided turns upon the meaning of the word "foreign," *i. e.*, whether Porto Rico after the ratification of the treaty of Paris remained "foreign territory" within the meaning of the tariff laws. To the minority, it is one of public policy as well, to be viewed broadly with reference to the altered circumstances

in the development of the country and also with a view to the probable effect upon the power of Congress and the Executive, if the rules as formulated by the majority prevail.

Whether Porto Rico is a "foreign country" within the meaning of the tariff laws presents itself as an extremely simple one to the majority of the court. The definition of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall: "A foreign country is one exclusively within the sovereignty of a foreign nation, and without the sovereignty of the United States"¹ is accepted as conclusive.

The first difficulty which the court meets in attempting to reconcile this conclusion with the established precedents is the case of *Fleming vs. Page*,² which was an action to recover duties on merchandise imported from Tampico (Mexico) during the occupation of that port by the troops of the United States. In that case the court laid down the rule that until Congress brought such port within the customs lines, by establishing a collection district, Tampico remained a foreign port so far as revenue laws of the United States are concerned. The majority of the court in the *De Lima* case, while accepting the conclusions of *Fleming vs. Page*, qualify its application by regarding as *dictum* that portion of the opinion which relates to the establishment of collection districts.

The case upon which the court chiefly relies is *Cross vs. Harrison*,³ which involved the validity of duties paid at the port of San Francisco upon merchandise imported from foreign countries into California between February 2, 1849, —the date of the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico, and November 13, 1849, when the collector appointed by the President under an act of Congress passed March 3, 1849, entered upon his duties. In this case the

¹ The *Boat "Eliza"*, 2 Gall. 4.

² 9 Howard 603.

³ 16 Howard 164.

court held that "after the ratification of the treaty, California became a part of the United States, or a ceded, conquered territory" and that "*as there is nothing differently stipulated in the treaty with respect to commerce*,¹ it became instantly bound and privileged by the laws which Congress had passed to raise a revenue from duties on imports and tonnage." The italicised clause is important as it enables the dissenting justices to invoke the same opinion in support of their view.

But, even in the absence of all precedent, the conclusions of the court would remain unchanged: "Were this presented as an original question, we would be impelled irresistibly to the same conclusion." Under the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States are of equal force and effect. One of the ordinary incidents of a treaty is the cession of territory, and it follows from this "that by the ratification of the treaty of Paris the Island became territory of the United States,—although not an organized territory in the technical sense of the word." The theory that "a country remains foreign with respect to the tariff laws until Congress has acted by embracing it within the customs union presupposes that a country may be domestic for one purpose and foreign for another." The conclusion of the court is therefore that "at the time these duties were levied, Porto Rico was not a foreign country within the meaning of the tariff laws but a territory of the United States, that the duties were illegally exacted and that the plaintiffs are entitled to recover them back."

It is important to note that the military government was in operation more than a year after the ratification of the treaty of Paris. Under the decision in the De Lima case, however, all duties collected after the ratification of the treaty, whether under military or civil rule, are invalid. While the military arm might continue to govern the Island, the ratification of the treaty of cession made it domestic

¹ The italics are not in the original.

territory, and the power to exact further customs duties therefore ceased. This principle is laid down in *Dooley vs. United States* and reasserted in the *De Lima* case.

Between the majority and minority in the *De Lima* case, there exists an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words "foreign country" as used in the revenue laws. The minority unqualifiedly accepts the interpretation of *Fleming vs. Page*. "We submit" says Mr. Justice McKenna "that the principle upon which *Fleming vs. Page* was based is still a proper principle for judicial application. Does it not make government provident, not haphazard, ignoring circumstances and producing good or ill accidentally? Does it not leave to the Executive and the Legislative Departments that which pertains to them? Did it not stand as a guide to the Executive—a warrant of action, so far as action might affect private rights? Indeed, what is of greater concern—so far as action might affect great public interests? It should, we submit, be accepted as a precedent. It is wise in practice; considerate of what government must regard, and of the different functions of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial departments and of their independence. Why should it then be discarded as *dictum*? If constancy of judicial decision is necessary to regulate the relations and property rights of individuals, is not constancy of decision the more necessary when it may influence or has influenced the action of a nation? If the other departments of the government must look to the judicial for light, that light should burn steadily. It should not, like the exhalations of a marsh, shine to mislead."

In the interpretation of *Cross vs. Harrison* the minority is no nearer the majority than in regard to *Fleming vs. Page*. Extracts from the opinion are quoted to show that no automatic application was given to the tariff laws in that case, but that their extension was made dependent upon the action of the President. To remove any further doubt the difference between the treaty with Mexico and the treaty with Spain

is pointed out. The former provided specifically for the incorporation of the ceded territory into the United States; whereas the latter expressly declares that the status of the ceded territory is to be determined by Congress.

Finally, the views of the majority as to the effect of treaties of cession upon our domestic institutions, are examined. If by such treaties, all newly acquired territory must be regarded as domestic, and all the laws of the United States automatically applicable thereto, consequences of the gravest nature may result, particularly to the revenue system. "Its entire plan may be impaired or be destroyed by change in any part. The revenues of the government may be lessened, even taken away by change; the industrial policy of the country may be destroyed by change. We are repelled by the argument which leads to such consequences, whether regarding our own country or the foreign country made 'domestic.' If 'domestic' as to what comes from it, it is 'domestic' as to what goes to it, and its customs laws as well as our customs laws may be cast into confusion, and its business and affairs deranged before there is possibility of action. Under the theory of automatic and immediate incorporation neither we nor the conquered nation would have any choice in the new situation,—could make no recommendation to exigency, would stand bound in a hopeless fatality. Whatever be the interests, temporary or permanent, whatever might be the condition or fitness of the ceded territory, the effect on it or on us, the territory would become a part of the United States with all that implies."

In the opinion of the minority Porto Rico occupies a relation to the United States, "between that of being a foreign country absolutely, and of being domestic territory absolutely." Such a view "vindicates the government from national and international weakness. It exhibits the Constitution as a charter of great and vital authorities, with limitations indeed, but with such limitations as serve

and assist government, not destroy it; which, though fully enforced, yet enable the United States to have—what it was intended to have ‘an equal station among the Powers of the earth,’ and to do all ‘Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.’”

Mr. Justice Gray in a separate dissenting opinion points out that the majority opinion is irreconcilable with the unanimous opinion of the court in *Fleming vs. Page*, and with the opinions of the majority in *Downes vs. Bidwell*.

The De Lima case only settled the question of the applicability of the tariff laws of the United States during the period between the ratification of the treaty of Paris (April 11, 1899) and the establishment of civil government (May 1, 1900). The Downes case which was made the subject of the most exhaustive analysis, by both the majority and the minority, involved the question of the validity of customs duties collected subsequent to the establishment of civil government.

In the De Lima case the court was only called upon to decide whether Porto Rico was a “foreign country” within the meaning of the tariff laws. For the decision of this question it was not absolutely necessary to discuss the applicability of constitutional provisions to the territories. The only question to be passed upon was whether the ratification of the treaty had taken Porto Rico out of the category of “foreign countries” within the meaning of the enacting clause of the Dingley Tariff Act, which reads: “There shall be levied, collected and paid upon all articles imported from foreign countries,” etc. As was contended by the minority, the word “foreign” as used in that Act must be examined with reference to the intent of Congress in framing the tariff laws, and, that to hold that Porto Rico was not “foreign” in the same sense that Germany or France is “foreign” does not answer the question at issue.

It is true that the court in the De Lima case took up the question of the applicability of the Constitution to the ter-

ritories, but it did not give the subject the exhaustive treatment which we find in the *Downes* case. In the *De Lima* case the court held "that upon the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, Porto Rico ceased to be a foreign country, and became a territory of the United States, and that duties were not legally collectible upon merchandise brought from that Island." In the *Downes* case the court was called upon to determine whether Porto Rico became a part of the United States within that provision of the Constitution which declares "that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The judgment of the court, answering this question in the negative is concurred in by Justices Brown, White, Shiras, McKenna and Gray. But while the majority of the court is agreed as to the validity of duties collected on goods coming from Porto Rico, subsequent to the act establishing a civil government, there is, as has already been pointed out, a marked divergence in the reasoning supporting this conclusion. We have, in fact, three opinions to deal with. One by Mr. Justice Brown, in which he announces the conclusions of the court, another by Mr. Justice White, concurred in by Justices Shiras, McKenna and Gray, and a dissenting opinion by The Chief Justice, concurred in by Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham. In the judgment, therefore, the court is divided five to four, but if we disassociate the judgment from the supporting opinions we find a different grouping,—Mr. Justice Brown stands alone, the other eight Justices being equally divided.

In an analysis of the opinions it is evident that the opinion written by Mr. Justice White deserves first place inasmuch as it has the support of three of his colleagues,—Justices Shiras, McKenna and Gray. The leading premise in the reasoning of Mr. Justice White is that Congress, in governing the territories, is subject to the Constitution; in other words, that "every provision of the Constitution which is applicable to the territories is also controlling therein."

After a considerable preliminary discussion, Mr. Justice White formulates the real question at issue: "Had Porto Rico, at the time of the passage of the act in question (Foraker Act), been incorporated into and become an integral part of the United States?" In answer thereto the court invokes the principles laid down in *American Insurance Co. vs. Canter*, that "if conquered territory be ceded by treaty, the acquisition is confirmed, and the ceded territory becomes a part of the union to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession or on such as its new master shall impose." As Mr. Justice White cogently says, "to concede to the government of the United States the right to acquire, and to strip it of all power to protect the birthright of its own citizens and to provide for the well-being of the acquired territory by such enactments as may in view of its condition be essential, is, in effect, to say that the United States is helpless in the family of nations, and does not possess that authority which has at all times been treated as an incident of the right to acquire."

If the treaty-making power has the right to effect the absolute incorporation of new territory into the United States, the representative organ of the government,—the House of Representatives,—would be stripped of its most important powers. "Although the House of Representatives might be unwilling to agree to the incorporation of alien races, it would be impotent to prevent its accomplishment, and the express provisions conferring upon Congress the power to regulate commerce, the right to raise revenue—bills for which, by the Constitution, must originate in the House of Representatives—and the authority to prescribe uniform naturalization laws, would be in effect set at naught by the treaty-making power."

In the view of Mr. Justice White, the United States at the adoption of the Constitution consisted not only of States but also of territories, but that subsequently acquired territory whether by purchase or by treaty could not be incor-

porated into the United States, except by the express or implied assent of Congress. "It is then, as I think," says Mr. Justice White, "indubitably settled by the principles of the law of nations, by the nature of the government created under the Constitution, by the express and implied powers conferred upon that government by the Constitution, by the mode in which those powers have been executed, from the beginning, and by an unbroken line of decisions of this court, first announced by Marshall and followed and lucidly expounded by Taney, that the treaty-making power cannot incorporate territory into the United States without the express or implied assent of Congress, that it may insert in a treaty, conditions against immediate incorporation, and that on the other hand when it has expressed in the treaty the conditions favorable to incorporation, they will, if the treaty be not repudiated by Congress, have the force of the law of the land, and therefore by the fulfillment of such conditions cause incorporation to result. It must follow, therefore, that where a treaty contains no conditions for incorporation, and, above all, where it not only has no such conditions but expressly provides to the contrary, that incorporation does not arise until, in the wisdom of Congress, it is deemed that the acquired territory has reached that state where it is proper that it should enter into and form a part of the American family."

While, therefore, at the time these duties were collected (November, 1900) Porto Rico was not a foreign country in an international sense, "since it was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, it was foreign to the United States in a domestic sense, because the Island had not been incorporated into the United States, but was merely appurtenant thereto as a possession. As a necessary consequence, the impost in question assessed on merchandise coming from Porto Rico into the United States after the cession, was within the power of Congress, and that body was not, moreover, as to such imposts, controlled

by the clause requiring that imposts should be uniform throughout the United States."

In the opinion written by Mr. Justice Brown there is an evident intention to prove that the territories have never been considered a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. He deduces this from the character of the Articles of Confederation, the wording of the Constitution, and the nature of the territorial government established in the Northwest territory. The practice of the government in dealing with the territories during the present century is examined with considerable detail, with a view to showing that Congress has recognized the fact "that provisions intended for the States did not embrace the territories unless especially mentioned." Mr. Justice Brown then proceeds to examine the precedents established by the Supreme Court and admits, at the outset, that the decisions of the court upon this subject have not been altogether harmonious. Before examining these cases he is careful to lay down the rule established in *Cohens vs. Virginia*, (6 Wheaton 264, 399) that "it is a maxim not to be disregarded that general expressions in every opinion are to be taken in connection with the case in which those expressions are used. If they go beyond the case, they may be respected, but ought not to control the decision in a subsequent suit when the very point is presented for decision."

Having reached the conclusion that the territories are not to be considered parts of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, Mr. Justice Brown proceeds to establish a distinction between such prohibitions as are operative only throughout the United States or among the several States, and such as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place. "When the Constitution declares that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed, and that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill of that description." On the other

hand when the Constitution simply states that a certain rule shall be established throughout the United States, such as that relating to the uniformity of duties, imposts and excises, it only becomes necessary to inquire whether there be any territory over which Congress has jurisdiction, which is not a part of the United States, "by which term we understand the *States* whose people *united* to form the Constitution, and such as have since been admitted to the Union upon an equality with them." The fact that there may be such territory is proven to the satisfaction of Mr. Justice Brown by the wording of the Thirteenth Amendment which recognizes a distinction between the United States and "any place subject to their jurisdiction."

In order to quiet any apprehension as to the danger of placing the inhabitants of a territory at the complete mercy of Congress, Mr. Justice Brown endeavors to strengthen the distinction between the two classes of Constitutional provisions above referred to, by resurrecting the "natural rights theory" so dear to one of his former colleagues—Justice Field. "We suggest, without intending to decide, that there may be a distinction between certain natural rights, enforced in the Constitution by prohibitions against interference with them, and what would be termed artificial or remedial rights, which are peculiar to our own system of jurisprudence. Of the former class are the rights to one's own religious opinion, and to a public expression of them, or, as sometimes said, to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience; the right to personal liberty and individual property; to freedom of speech and of the press; to free access to courts of justice; to due process of law and to an equal protection of the laws; to immunities from unreasonable searches and seizures, as well as cruel and unusual punishments; and to such other immunities as are indispensable to a free government. Of the latter class are the rights to citizenship, to suffrage, and to the particular methods of procedure pointed out in the Con-

stitution, which are peculiar to Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, and some of which have already been held by the States to be unnecessary to the proper protection of individuals."

The conclusion reached by Mr. Justice Brown is that the right of the national government to acquire foreign territory once established; the presumption arises that its power with respect to such territories is the same as other nations have been accustomed to exercise with respect to territory acquired by them, or as he forcibly puts it: "Choice in some cases, the natural gravitation of small bodies to large ones in others, the result of a successful war in still others, may bring about conditions which would render the annexation of distant possessions desirable. If those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation and modes of thought, the administration of government and justice, according to Anglo-Saxon principles, may for a time be impossible; and the question at once arises whether large concessions ought not to be made for a time, that, ultimately, our own theories may be carried out, and the blessings of a free government under the Constitution extended to them. We decline to hold that there is anything in the Constitution to forbid such action."

Mr. Justice Gray, in filing an additional concurring opinion, agrees with Mr. Justice White and presents no new considerations of importance.

In comparing the opinions of Justices White and Brown, the main difference in the reasoning is to be found in the fact that Mr. Justice Brown does not regard any of the territories as part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, and therefore holds inapplicable those provisions which refer to a uniform rule "throughout the United States." Mr. Justice White on the other hand regards such provisions as applicable the moment newly acquired territory is incorporated into the Union by act of Congress, but holds that the treaty-making power cannot

effect such incorporation. Congressional action is necessary in order to make acquired territory a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. In one sense therefore, Mr. Justice White places narrower limits to the power of Congress than Mr. Justice Brown, for according to the latter, Congress in dealing with the territories is not bound by the provisions of the Constitution which refer to the "*United States*," even after such territories have been incorporated into the Union by Congressional action. In the opinion of Mr. Justice White, on the other hand, all provisions of the Constitution which are in any way applicable to the territories acquire full force and effect therein, the moment such territory is incorporated into the United States by act of Congress.

The dissenting opinion in the *Downes* case is presented by The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring. The opinion rests upon a strict interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the powers of Congress. To the minority, the case of *Loughborough vs. Blake* (5 Wheaton 317) is conclusive. Mr. Chief Justice Marshall's definition of the term "*United States*"¹ as used in the Constitution is accepted without reserve, and the view of the majority that such definition was *obiter* is unqualifiedly rejected.

The rule of interpretation being settled, there can be no doubt as to the limitations on the power of Congress. The attitude of the dissenting justices is well illustrated in their

¹ The power then to lay and collect duties, imposts and excises may be exercised, and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole, or any portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great republic, which is composed of States and territories. The District of Columbia, or the territory west of the Missouri, is not less within the United States, than Maryland or Pennsylvania; and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, the uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties and excises should be observed in the one, than in the other. Since, then, the power to lay and collect taxes, which includes direct taxes, is obviously co-extensive with the power to lay and collect duties, imposts and excises, and since the latter extends throughout the United States, it follows that the power to impose direct taxes also extends throughout the United States."—Marshall, C. J., in *Loughborough vs. Blake*.

approval of the doctrine, that the Constitution "neither changes with time nor does it in theory bend to the force of circumstances. It may be amended according to its own permission; but while it stands it is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. Its principles cannot, therefore, be set aside in order to meet the supposed necessities of great crises." The question is whether Congress having created a civil government for Porto Rico, having constituted its inhabitants a body politic, and having given it a governor and other officers, a legislative assembly, and courts, with right of appeal to this court, can in the same act and in the exercise of the power conferred by the first clause of section eight of the Constitution, impose duties on the commerce between Porto Rico and the States and other territories in contravention of the rule of uniformity qualifying the power. "If this can be done, it is because the power of Congress over commerce between the States and any of the territories is not restricted by the Constitution."

While concurring in the dissenting opinion of the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Harlan in a separate opinion, offers reply to some of the doctrines laid down by the majority. The principle upon which he rests his view is that Congress has no existence and can exercise no authority outside of the Constitution. "This nation is under the control of a written Constitution, the supreme law of the land and the only source of the powers which our Government, or any branch or officer of it, may exert at any time or at any place. Monarchical and despotic governments, unrestrained by written constitutions, may do with newly acquired territories what this Government may not do consistently with our fundamental law. To say otherwise is to concede that Congress may, by action taken outside of the Constitution, engraft upon our republican institutions a colonial system such as exists under monarchical governments."

In answer to the suggestion of Mr. Justice White, that conditions may arise when, with the annexation of distant possessions we will have to deal with an alien race, unprepared for the administration of government according to Anglo-Saxon principles, Mr. Justice Harlan says: "Whether a particular race will or will not assimilate with our people, and whether they can or cannot with safety to our institutions be brought within the operation of the Constitution, is a matter to be thought of when it is proposed to acquire their territory by treaty. A mistake in the acquisition of territory, although such acquisition seemed at the time to be necessary, cannot be made the ground for violating the Constitution or refusing to give full effect to its provisions. The Constitution is not to be obeyed or disobeyed as the circumstances of a particular crisis in our history may suggest the one or the other course to be pursued."

Any attempt to discuss opinions of such far-reaching political importance from an exclusively legal standpoint, must necessarily meet with considerable difficulty. Their relation to our public policy is so intimate, that their true significance can only be appreciated when examined in the light of the constitutional development of the country. The opinions, themselves, fail to separate considerations of public policy from strictly legal principles. Not that this is surprising; it lies in the nature of the questions involved. In passing on an issue such as this, the court is brought face to face with the broadest of political questions,—namely,—the adaptation of an instrument of government to an entirely new set of problems.

The legal controversy waged before the Supreme Court in the Insular cases is but a chapter in that larger struggle, whose successive stages are marked by such questions, as,—the right to purchase Louisiana and Florida, the right to charter a United States bank, the right to enact a protective tariff, the right to govern the territories and the right to issue legal tender. Not only do the arguments in the cases involving

these questions, bear close resemblance to those used in the Insular cases, but the division of opinion in the court is traceable to the same divergence of view as to the nature of our constitutional system. That the final result of the century of constitutional controversy is expressed in wider national powers, and in an ever-increasing ability of the national government to cope with great and new questions of public policy is not without significance for the questions now under consideration.

Whenever the Supreme Court has been called upon to decide questions relating to the power of the executive and legislative departments of the government over territory belonging to the United States, but not situated within any of the States, the Court has, as a rule, decided in favor of the plenary powers of the political organs of the government. The desire not to hamper the political organs of the government in the choice of means, when confronted with great problems, has at times led the court to resort to the most advanced form of legal dialectics and even to legal fictions. It is true that, in the course of its opinions, the court has often indulged in expressions tending to give support to both parties in subsequent controversies, but the final judgment has, as a rule, broadened rather than limited the discretionary power of Congress and the President. The case of *Fleming vs. Page*, which the minority of the Court in the De Lima case attempts to qualify, but which is accepted unreservedly by the majority, and is invoked by four of the Justices in the Downes case, is one of the most striking illustrations of this attitude of the Court. The expressions of opinion as to the power of Congress over newly acquired territory in this and in subsequent cases clearly shows a settled purpose on the part of the Court to leave such status to be determined by the political organs of the government.

When the Court in *Mormon Church vs. United States* (136 U. S. 42) says,—“the territory of Louisiana when acquired from France, and the territories west of the Rocky Moun-

tains when acquired from Mexico, became the absolute property and domain of the United States, subject to such conditions as the government, in its diplomatic negotiations had seen fit to accept, relating to the rights of the people then inhabiting these territories" it is simply giving expression to a rule which was not, and could not, be embodied in the Constitution at the time of its adoption, because the circumstances which called forth the rule were absent. Fortunately, however, the provisions of the Constitution were framed in such general terms, and the absolute prohibitions upon the central government were so few, that when a new situation arose, it was possible to formulate the new rule without doing violence to any constitutional provision. The same attitude of the Court is illustrated in *National Bank vs. County of Yankton* (101 U. S. 129), in which the Court says,— "the territories are but political subdivisions of the outlying dominion of the United States." Even in the case of *Cross vs. Harrison*, so strongly relied upon by the majority of the Court in the De Lima case, the expressions bearing on the specific point at issue, viz., duties paid after the ratification of the treaty with Mexico and prior to the admission of California as a State, tend to show the desire of the Court to place California, prior to its admission, under the complete control of Congress.

As to the reasoning of the Court in the Insular cases, it is interesting to note how largely the element of "expediency" enters into all the opinions, but especially in the dissenting opinions in the De Lima and Dooley cases. In the latter, Mr. Justice White, after examining in detail the inconvenience which would result if instantly, on the ratification of a treaty, articles coming from a newly acquired territory should be entitled to free entry into the United States, says: "All these suggestions however, it is argued, but refer to expediency, and are entitled to no weight as against the theory that, under the Constitution, the tariff laws of the United States took effect of their own force immediately upon the

cession. But this is fallacious. For, if it be demonstrated that a particular result cannot be accomplished without destroying the revenue power conferred upon Congress by the Constitution, and without annihilating the conceded authority of the government in other respects, such demonstration shows the unsoundness of the argument which magnifies the results flowing from the exercise, by the treaty-making power, of its authority to acquire, to the detriment and destruction of that balanced and limited government which the Constitution called into being."

The majority in the De Lima case (The Chief Justice, Justices Brown, Harlan, Brewer and Peckham), and the minority in the Downes case (The Chief Justice, Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham) express themselves as strongly opposed to giving any weight to the element of expediency, and yet, a careful analysis of these opinions will show that while this class of considerations is not given the same prominence as in the opinion quoted above, the Court is unable to avoid the discussion of the influence of its conclusions on the powers of Congress and the President.

A comparison of the opinions in the Insular cases will show that in spite of the great divergence in conclusions, eight of the nine Justices are agreed as to at least one important principle of constitutional interpretation. This fact has been obscured by the undue prominence given to Mr. Justice Brown's opinion in the Downes case. Mr. Justice White (Justices Shiras, Gray and McKenna concurring) and The Chief Justice (Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham concurring) are agreed that Congress, in governing the territories, derives its authority and is subject to all the limitations of the Constitution applicable thereto. In other words eight of the nine Justices lay down the rule that Congress cannot withhold the Constitution from territory under its control after such territory has been incorporated into the United States. As Mr. Justice White tersely puts it:—"In the case of the territories as in every other

instance, when a provision of the Constitution is involved, the question which arises is not whether the Constitution is operative, for that is self-evident, but whether the provision relied on is applicable." This principle is of transcendent importance, as it sets at rest much of the uncertainty aroused by some of the earlier decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The opinions of the four concurring and four dissenting Justices in the Downes case diverge in the interpretation of the effect of the treaty of cession and the establishment of civil government, upon the status of Porto Rico. In the opinion of the four dissenting Justices the ratification of the treaty made Porto Rico a part of the United States, and therefore no act of Congress or of the Executive, nor even their combined action could treat Porto Rico differently from other parts of the United States. It is interesting to note that the same view is presented by Mr. Justice Brown in the De Lima case. On the other hand, Justices White, Shiras, Gray and McKenna take the view in the Downes case, which is likewise consistent with their view in the De Lima case,—that a treaty of cession cannot make newly acquired territory a part of the United States in a domestic sense; that is, it cannot incorporate an alien people into the United States without the express or implied approval of Congress. They expressly repudiate the theory that the "Union of the United States" is a union of states only, and hold that the term "United States" within the meaning of the Constitution embraces the states and such territories as have been made part of the United States by the express or implied assent of Congress. The logical result of this rule is that Congress may insert in a treaty conditions against immediate incorporation. The view of Mr. Justice Brown is that the Union is a union of states alone, and that the territories do not form a part of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution. We therefore find three gradations of opinion as to the scope of the

term "United States" as used in the Constitution. The Chief Justice and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham take the view that the moment new territory is acquired, no matter under what conditions or circumstances, such territory becomes a part of the United States, within the meaning of the Constitution and all constitutional guarantees and limitations immediately become applicable. On the other hand, Justices White, Shiras, Gray and McKenna hold that such newly acquired territory does not come within the constitutional provisions until the political organs of the government, namely,—Congress and the President, have given their express or implied assent to the incorporation of such territory into the United States. Finally, Mr. Justice Brown leans strongly to the opinion that the term "United States" as used in the Constitution refers to the union of states and does not include the territories.

Testing these three views by the strict canons of legal precedent, we find that they all have a basis in expressions of opinion by the court in earlier cases. This is largely due to the fact that the question of the applicability of the Constitution to newly acquired territory has never presented itself in such definite form. The precedents cited in the Insular cases should be examined in the light of the principle laid down by Mr. Justice Taney in the *Genesee Chief* case (12 Howard 443), when, in justifying a departure from a principle laid down in an earlier decision, he said "the great importance of the question as it now presents itself could not have been foreseen, and the subject therefore did not receive the elaborate consideration which at this time would have been given it."

The consciousness that a new situation confronts the country seems particularly evident in the opinion of Mr. Justice White in the *Downes* case. His views give evidence of a desire to formulate a principle at once simple and readily intelligible. Whether we agree or disagree with his conclusions, they furnish a clear and definite rule by which

the political organs of the government may guide their conduct in dealing with newly acquired territory. The principle of interpretation as laid down gives to them complete power over such territory until, by express legislative enactment or by acquiescence in a rule contained in a treaty of cession, such acquired territory is made a part of the United States. Until such action is taken by Congress, the territory remains subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but does not become a part thereof, and the only limitations upon the power of Congress are those prohibitions of the Constitution which go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place; or, as Mr. Justice White says: "by those absolute withdrawals of power which the Constitution has made in favor of human liberty, and which are applicable to every condition or status."

Although this view receives the assent of but three of his associates, it seems likely from the reasoning of the dissenting Justices, that it will furnish the basis for the Philippine decision, unless some radical change be made in the make-up of the court. The great merit of the principle as thus laid down lies in the fact that it enables the political organs of the government to deal with the newly acquired territory in accordance with its requirements.

It is fortunate, both for the immediate needs of our public policy, as well as the future expansion of the country, that the doctrine of immediate, irrevocable, automatic incorporation through mere cession has been repudiated. If the views of the four dissenting Justices in the Downes case had prevailed, both Congress and the Executive would have found their hands tied in dealing with our new possessions in such a way as to make efficient government almost, if not quite, impossible. No instrument of government no matter how perfect, can long withstand such a strain. In all the crises of our national life, the Constitution has been found adequate to meet new situations as they presented themselves. In

spite of some uncertainty as to the view of the court on a number of important questions relating to the government of acquired territory, a rule of interpretation has now been formulated, sufficiently broad to enable Congress to deal with the immediate necessities of the situation. Any interpretation which falls short of this requirement must react injuriously upon the authority of the Constitution. To preserve its authority the principle pronounced by Mr. Justice Story in *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee* (1 Wheaton 326) must ever be kept in mind. "The Constitution unavoidably deals in general language. It did not suit the purposes of the people, in framing this great charter of our liberties, to provide for minute specifications of its powers, or to declare the means by which those powers should be carried into execution. It was foreseen that this would be a perilous and difficult, if not an impracticable task. The instrument was not intended to provide merely for the exigencies of a few years, but was to endure through a long lapse of ages, the events of which were locked up in the inscrutable purposes of Providence. It could not be foreseen what new changes and modifications of power might be indispensable to effectuate the general objects of the charter; and restrictions and specifications which at the present might seem salutary, might in the end prove the overthrow of the system itself. Hence its powers are expressed in general terms, leaving to the legislature, from time to time, to adopt its own means to effectuate legitimate objects, and to mould and model the exercise of its powers as its wisdom and the public interests should require."

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SOCIAL DECADENCE.

There are three kinds of decadence liable to occur in human society, namely, personal, racial, and social. Personal decadence needs no explanation. When this species of degeneration becomes prevalent, the phenomenon of racial decay occurs. Since the development of civilization depends on the character or mental constitution of the race, and since any degeneration of the race in physique is always accompanied by corresponding weakening of mental powers, it follows that racial decay finally entails social dissolution. Yet though racial decay causes social disintegration the converse is by no means true. With social decadence there is often no sign of race deterioration. Eighteenth century France, for instance, experienced a period of social decay. Yet the French race was then, perhaps, more strong, healthful, and capable than ever before. The mechanical framework of a social system based on institutions and customs which had long since survived their utility, enclosed within its bounds millions of individuals who were just beginning to be conscious of themselves in relation to their fellow men. "Sire," said the Marshal de Richelieu, who had seen three reigns, addressing Louis XVI., "under Louis XIV. no one dared utter a word; under Louis XV. people whispered; under your majesty they talk aloud."¹ Opinion begins to war with tradition. Divine prestige which had for centuries wrapped ancient institutions in its protecting embrace, is suddenly withdrawn, revealing only skeletons. Authority yields to investigation, revelation lies prostrate before science. Skepticism, the necessary antecedent of progress, becomes the ruling principle of thought and action. The critical, comparative method introduced by Buffon, Lavoisier and Lalande is applied by Montesquieu, Diderot, and Voltaire to the political and social questions of the day.

¹ Taine, *The Ancient Régime*, p. 125.

The theories of the thinkers, adopted and carried into action by the Revolutionists, caused such a public sentiment against authority of all kinds that, during the early days of the Revolution, France presents to the world the spectacle of a nation of separate individuals, each so infatuated with his own "rights" that his duties to others are conveniently ignored. On all sides social structures collapse. So far have the people forgotten the value of association that all literary societies, academies of science, schools, seminaries, colleges, even those of the Sorbonne, are suppressed. This presents a state of disintegration—a perfect picture of social decay. Yet so strong, so vigorous is the race that, in but a few years, the liberty-intoxicated people of the Revolution, recovering their balance, erect a new France on the ashes of the old.

Having characterized personal and racial decadence the question remains, What is to be understood by social decadence? "Whatever else a stable society is," says M. Tarde in his *Logique Sociale*, . . . "it is, above all, an interlacement of sympathetic sentiments." The vital elements in every society are the subtle, invisible bonds which make possible association and co-operation and it is to the decay of these that attention must be directed. Social decay, therefore, means the perishing of these vital elements which hold the members of society together.

Now what does the word *decadent* imply? First of all the idea of a former high degree of excellence. *Decadent* which implies a *has been*, must therefore be distinguished from *primitive* which suggests a *to be*. The old man and the infant are alike bald, toothless, weak, "childish" in thought; but these characteristics are due in the one case to worn-out capacities, in the other to undeveloped powers. Just so the primitive group and the decadent group often have much in common. Each is marked by disorder and consequent resort to force to maintain the *status quo* of the classes. But in the primitive type this control by force indicates an

advance from the tribal to a higher organization of the group; in the decadent type it signifies the dissolution of the vital forces of a once prosperous society.

Thus declining Rome used measures of control just as severe as those employed by any primitive society. Personal liberty was as little respected then as at any period in the world's history. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the fourth century A. D., of the reign of the Emperor Constantius, says: "For if any one of his military officers or of those who had ever received marks of honor; or if any one of high rank was accused on the barest rumor of having favored the faction of his enemy, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a beast; . . . every one who was informed against or in any way called in question was condemned either to death or to confiscation of his property or to confinement in a desert island."¹ Still for all this reign of violence, the Romans of this period must not be placed on the same round of the ladder of civilization with the Scotchmen of the fourteenth century, the Corsicans of fifty years ago, or the early Californians. Strictly speaking a society is never retrogressive. Nations may and do decline, but the descent is always made on the other side of the hill. If we liken the course of advancing civilization to the tortuous path of a loop railroad up to the crest of a mountain, we may compare the movement in social decline to the course of a landslide down the further slope. If in respect of violence the England of Henry I. stood about on a level with fourth century Rome let us remember that the one society had the promise and potency of functions which the other had enjoyed and lost.

Again, the word *decadent* embraces the idea of movement. Hence it must be distinguished from *non-progressive*. In a decadent society, therefore, destruction of social bonds is taking place—the group is moving toward ruin. Between the decadent and the non-progressive types of society there

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 12.

are similarities just as striking as those between the decadent and the primitive groups. A great caking of custom over social life, that pre-eminent characteristic of the non-progressive type, is often displayed in the decadent society. A strong conservative spirit governs affairs domestic and public. Love of the past, hatred of change, and satisfaction with the present condition are, moreover, common to both. But the non-progressive group can last indefinitely. Its civilization is arrested, its energies lie dormant. Yet it is holding its own, in spite of the fact that, compared with the progressive societies of its day, it may seem to be retrograding. It is only awaiting an impulse vigorous enough to start it from the rut in which it has lain for centuries. In the decadent society on the other hand, certain forces are at work dragging it ever further from a state of equilibrium. The group cannot continue as it is.

Modern China and modern Spain may be cited as instances of the above types. In both these countries authority and antiquity sway all things, investigation and innovation are not tolerated. But though China "is shrouded in etiquette like a mummy in its wrappings,"¹ Arthur Smith, the American missionary, says: "If the teaching of history as to what happens to the fittest is to be trusted, there is a magnificent future for the Chinese race." The self-preserved instincts of society dominate all the institutions and traditions of the Chinese. Regard for parents and ancestors and respect for peaceful industries are the controlling influences in their life. "No man is a hypocrite in his amusements," says Dr. Johnson. The play activity in human beings is spontaneous and indicates innate race qualities. This is certainly true in the case of the Chinese, whose favorite games, chess, flying kites, and fantan are an index of their peaceful character. We notice the absence of gladiatorial combats and duels in their scheme of pleasures and a detestation of all warlike achievements. The popular

¹ Taine, *The Ancient Régime*, p. 123.

proverb, "Good iron is not used for nails, nor are good men for soldiers," expresses their contempt for the military profession. The Chinaman's inborn respect for life is shown by the fact that life is seldom taken for political crime, and that human sacrifices have never been demanded by his religion. But patriotism and idealism are utterly lacking in his make-up, and until these two sentiments are supplied there will be little progress possible for him. As Dr. Patten says, "To insure continuous progress each race must receive from other races ideas not developed by its past conditions,"¹ and the Chinese must assimilate foreign ideas to such an extent that love of country and desire to work for ideals will become a part of national character. The Chinaman is essentially practical and utilitarian, and perhaps by appealing to his economic sense he may be taught the advantages of truth and co-operation; he may be led to take a broader view of things; he may be aroused to evince an interest in what is beyond his immediate environment. Then he will see that the system of political corruption, in the meshes of which China is held fast to-day, is alone responsible for her stagnation,—a system which from the lowest to the highest office, in both military and civil life, puts a premium on lying and discourages, nay, even punishes, honest endeavor. Offices are purchased and promotions in the army go to the highest bidder. There is a large number of unpaid employees in both the military and civil service. These men become parasites on the paid officers and the public at large. Chinese officials are skilled experts in the misappropriation of public funds and stores. Take a single instance. The Viceroy of the Course of the River, whose special duty it is to protect and keep in order the banks of the Yellow River, knowing that promotion is always conferred on the viceroy under whose administration the embankment is repaired, has so often caused floods to be produced by artificial means that the popular saying runs: "The best cure

¹ *The Development of English Thought*, p. 18.

for the Hwang-Ho and the best safeguard against floods, would be to behead all the officials and leave the river to itself." Moreover, much of the fund appropriated for the control of the flood finds its way into the private pocket of the viceroy. This universal system of corruption checks trade and enterprise. Boatmen have to pay such heavy duties to the police for plying that they soon cease to go abroad. All along the line at searching stations goods are examined, and unless a heavy bribe is paid they are destroyed. If a bottle of oil is found on which duty has been paid and the certificate mentions only *oil*, the merchant will be imprisoned on the charge of smuggling *glass* and released only on the payment of a heavy fine. Over ten years ago a company was formed in Canton for the establishment of water works, but the officials demanded such enormous bribes for granting the privilege that the scheme was abandoned. In the same way a fertilizer company, projected for the purpose of cleaning the streets of Canton and converting the refuse into manure, fell through.

There is, however, no doubt that China has turned in her sleep of ages and will soon arouse herself to action. The Reform party of China, including the best element of the Chinese race both at home and abroad—men who have been educated in European and American schools—is fully aware that the time for action is not far off. They realize intensely that under the present régime development is impossible—that the construction of railroads and the introduction of schemes for the development of China's internal resources, under the present system, would merely open up new avenues for corruption. Therefore their aim is the destruction of the government as it exists—which they consider a foreign institution brought by the Tartars—and the substitution of another native system. With the change in government must come the regeneration of the army. When the Chinese soldier feels confidence in his leaders and in his pay, the army will cease to be a "paper army," and will stand as an

organized power for good in national development. General Gordon said of the Chinese soldier that "he was easily led, easily fed, and fearless of death." Is there any reason, then, why the Chinese army, properly fed and paid, should not become a creditable institution? The unprecedented duration of the Chinese nation in spite of its weak army and unexampled system of corruption—a system which really began when Mu (1000-947 B. C.) promulgated a penal code, under which punishment was made commutable into fines—is doubtless due to the sterling race character of the people. Their genius for association, their habit of mutual responsibility, their indefatigable industry, their respect for property and life, their temperance—all these qualities which have acted as preservative forces for the Chinese nation, when joined to the progressive, acquired characters of patriotism and idealism will be responsible for the great change for the better which must soon take place in China. But the Reformers must remember that this new China will not be born in a day; it will be the result of evolution rather than revolution, of slow adaptation owing to the inherent dislike of the race for innovation. Let the would-be reformer of China take warning from Kipling's "fool who tried to hustle the East."

With Spain, however, the case is quite the reverse. She is, without doubt, one of Lord Salisbury's "dying nations." Owing to widespread and inveterate ignorance, due entirely to the control of the people for centuries by the church, the Spanish race has deteriorated from an active, enterprising, independent people to the inert, servile race we know to-day. One needs but reflect upon the attitude of the Spanish people themselves—not the politicians—towards the late war with the United States and towards the peace negotiations, to realize the degeneracy of the race and nation. E. J. Dillon, in the September, 1898, number of the *Contemporary Review*, calls the Spaniards "an impoverished, resigned, and hopelessly lethargic population." Peace at any price was the cry

of the Spanish masses. War meant to them hunger and other species of physical suffering. So engrossed were they in the struggle for personal, vegetative life, so indifferent to everything not connected with their individual interests, that Mr. Dillon goes on to assert that they would not object even if the United States were to declare a protectorate over Spain. The territorial sacrifices, at the cost of which peace was being purchased, meant nothing to the masses. The talk of the politicians about "blots on the scutcheon" touched no responsive chord in the mind of the masses. National honor has no longer a place in the soul of the people. An article in the London *Daily Telegraph*, August 13, 1898, says: "How stands the case with Spain? Her disastrous defeats and the assured loss to her of her foreign possessions; both in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, have left the great body of her citizens absolutely unmoved. The devotee of the 'pundonor' does not feel his honor touched by being beaten to his knees in an international duel; the former mistress of the Indies suffers nothing in her imperial pride at the certain prospect of seeing one of the last remnants of her transatlantic empire wrested from her failing grasp. Large numbers of her common people seem ignorant of the very existence of the West and the East Indian possessions; while those who are aware of it regard them apparently as burdens of which Spain would be well rid. Anyhow it is a matter for politicians to wrangle over, and a sensible Spaniard, with plenty of bull fights to amuse him, will not trouble his head about any such irrelevant matters. The very sentiment of national pride is to all appearance extinct among the Spanish people at large, and with the extinction of national pride it is certain that national life, in the true sense of the word, must sooner or later cease to exist. . . . It (the nation) is dissolved into a fortuitous concourse of traders, pleasure seekers, idlers or what-nots, who acknowledge no other bond of union among themselves than such as each man's personal interests in the matter of business or

amusement have created and may temporarily sustain. Such a descent in the order of civilization points to the already realized degeneracy and presages the not remote extinction of the race of which so humiliating a story can be told."

Any consideration of the subject of social decay must bear in mind the important fact that social decadence is *not inevitable*. It is a disorder, not a decrepitude. We are all familiar with the theory that societies, like human beings, pass through the stages incident to human life. "The infancy of the Republic," "the youth of the nation," its "old age" are all trite expressions. But there is this important difference to be noted between the life of a group and that of the individuals composing it. Decay, so inevitable in human life, is by no means necessary in social life, because the continuity of society is psychical not physical. When a society has reached the stage of intelligent group consciousness there is no reason why it should not continue its existence for an indefinite period. There is no cause at all for thinking it must finally decay and die.

Again, social decadence must be distinguished from the fluctuations of vitality experienced by healthy as well as diseased societies. Just as there are variations in the physical condition of a healthy person, so sound societies have their periods of relaxation or depression. Allowance must accordingly be made for such a condition of relaxation, and care must be taken not to confound it with the state of actual disease for which we should reserve the word "decadent."

In view of the foregoing may not a decadent society be defined as *a society which is not capable of maintaining a former level of excellence in social products?*

Disease is defined by pathologists as a condition in which the functions of the organism are improperly discharged. Disease is recognized by its symptoms. Among human beings the symptoms of the same disease in different individuals while showing an essential resemblance will always

be modified and sometimes to a confusing degree by peculiarity of temperament. Much more in the history of nations the essential elements of decay will be influenced by racial peculiarities.

Yet the signs of decay in all degenerate societies are sufficiently law-abiding to admit of two well-marked types which may be called the *institutional* and the *individualistic*. In the one case degeneration is due to the overpowering growth of institutions—in the other to the extreme development of individualism. The one is marked by the crushing out of all individual effort, the excess of social control, the growth of institutions at the expense of the individual,—the other by the weakness of social control, the domination of the individual over institutions. Both of these types, starting though they do from opposite poles, eventually manifest the same symptoms of social decadence,—the loss of social ideals, the perversion of the social spirit, the loosening of the ties of sympathy which unite the great classes of the governors and the governed. Under institutional decadence society is burdened with institutions, customs, and traditions which have long outgrown their usefulness and have become calcareous deposits in the social body. Or there is an abnormal domination of one institution over others, as in the case of Spain, where the church controls all. In the last analysis we find the individual of the institutional type of the decadent group, a cringing, ignorant time-server, utterly lacking in independence and initiative, willing, nay, anxious to be led, his horizon bounded by his ego, his one aim self-preservation. Anarchy reigns supreme in the last stage of the individualistic type of decadence, however. Each man is a law unto himself. Institutions, customs, traditions, the preservative forces of society are utterly shattered. Too much license for the individual, ultra development of personality, extreme realization of the ego have done their work. Thus we see that the free play of individual effort, so necessary to progress, so indispensable

a factor in civilization, defeats its own ends if allowed too wide a range, if not controlled by the group for whose development it is in so large a measure responsible.

An analysis of the phenomena accompanying social decadence—both institutional and individualistic—may be made through the study of Spain, which stands as a type of the first, and of Greece and Rome, which stand as types of the second.

Spain has been suffering from a mortal disease since the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century, indeed, presents an attempt at regeneration from without. But as the effort was fruitless there is little doubt that we to-day are witnessing the expiring gasps of the once proud mistress of the Indies.

The spirit of blind obedience to unquestioned authority, credulity, and superstition, the leading character traits of the Spaniard, were inculcated and fostered by the peculiar circumstances surrounding Spain's early struggles for civilization. What could eight centuries of religious wars do but develop religious fervor to the exclusion of all other passions? The Spaniards considered themselves soldiers of the cross and became accustomed to supernatural manifestations. "Their young men saw visions and their old men dreamed dreams." Poverty and ignorance, the necessary results of these long wars, served as aids in developing that absolute loyalty to king and priest which soon became the prominent characteristic of the Spanish people.

Therefore Spain was ready to take precedence among the nations in the sixteenth century, under the leadership of such strong, determined rulers as Charles V. and Philip II. The people, formed all in one mould, did the absolute bidding of the sovereign, who in turn worked for the church. A contemporary of Philip says: "The Spanish do not merely love, not merely reverence, but absolutely adore him (Philip) and deem his commands so sacred that they could not be violated without offence to God."

Under these rulers religious wars were carried on successfully. The Reformation was crushed at home and retarded in Germany. Philip aimed at the empire of Europe, so that he might restore the authority of the church. It was the boast of his emissary Alva, in the Low Countries, that he had put to death in five or six years eighteen thousand persons besides those slain on the battlefield.

The feeling of contentment with their condition, pride in their old beliefs, contempt for innovation soon became fixed in national character. When this sentiment of satisfaction settled down upon the race the death knell of progress was sounded. This harmony of mind, evenness of thought, fettering of capacity was the result of centuries of church discipline. By expulsion, emigration, oppression or extermination of the original, progressive element of the nation the demand of the church that all should think alike was satisfied. But with what result? Thanks to the forced emigration of the Jews, the expulsion of the Moors and the Inquisition, the nation succeeded in getting rid of all original thinkers—of all the unlike, variant factors—hence the resulting population through generations of inheritance was moulded all in one form.

The glory of Spain was, therefore, short-lived, for a people accustomed to being led, as they were, would follow unhesitatingly any leader, the ignorant or foolish as readily as the wise or intelligent. Consequently there occurs a marked deterioration during the next three reigns. As the power of the throne weakens that of the church increases. Spain's decline may be said to begin with the disturbance in the balance of power in her institutions caused by the abnormal development of the church in the seventeenth century. At a time when the power of the ecclesiastics all over Europe was decaying the church tightens her grip on Spain. Laymen in great numbers enter the church. The highest as well as the lowest intellects are dominated by its influence. Cervantes three years before his death became a priest. Lope

de Vega was a priest and officer of the Inquisition. Sandoval, the historian and the authority for the reign of Charles V., was a Benedictine monk. Antonio, the most learned bibliographer Spain ever produced, was a canon of Seville. Zamora, the poet, was a monk, and Calderon, called the poet of the Inquisition, was chaplain to Philip IV.

Owing to church control the condition of Spain in the seventeenth century became truly pitiable. The strongest symptoms of decay were everywhere discernible. Even the upper classes were unacquainted with science or literature, and knew nothing of the commonest events of their own times out of their own country. Books, unless books of devotion, were considered worthless. No one collected them—no one consulted them. Until the eighteenth century Madrid did not possess a single public library. Duc de St. Simon, the French ambassador at Madrid (1721-22), sums up the state of education by saying that "in Spain science is a crime and ignorance a virtue." The military spirit was completely lost. Most of the troops deserted. The few who remained faithful were clothed in rags, received no food and little money. The navy, if possible, was in a worse state than the army. In 1656 it was proposed to fit out a small fleet, but the fisheries on the coast had so declined that it was impossible to procure sailors enough to man the ships required. Charts were lost, and the ignorance of the Spanish pilots became so notorious that no one would trust them. In the cities suffering and want produced the inevitable revolt from control. Madrid tradesmen organized into bands, broke open private houses, robbed and murdered in the face of day. In 1699 Stanhope, the British minister, writes that never a day passed in which people were not killed in the streets scuffling for bread. His own secretary had seen five women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse.

All industries were now degenerate; the soil remained untilled, the arts were soon lost. Seville, which in the six-

teenth century had sixteen thousand looms, which employed three thousand persons, at the accession of Philip V., 1700, could not boast of three hundred. Toledo in the sixteenth century had fifty woolen manufactories—in 1665 it had only thirteen. And this story was repeated throughout the whole of Spain. There was also a marked decline in population during this miserable seventeenth century. Madrid, which at the beginning of the century had four hundred thousand inhabitants, at the end had but two hundred thousand.

A temporary relief at least, came to the wretched, disconsolate, poverty-stricken Spaniards during the next century. The improvement was, however, only superficial as all the reforms were introduced from without and did not spring up spontaneously from the people. In fact the Spaniards were then beyond the possibility of self-regeneration. The seeming success of Spain for a while was due to the fact that all her affairs were now in the hands of foreigners. National spirit there was none. Social ideals had long since vanished. There was such a dearth of capable men that in 1711 Bonnac mentions that a resolution had been formed to place no Spaniard at the head of affairs because those who had hitherto been employed had proved incapable or unfaithful. In the war of succession the Spanish troops were led by foreigners. The Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, became generalissimo of Spain. Finance was administered by Orry who was sent from France and who became the real minister of war. Alberoni, an Italian, and Ripperda, a Dutchman, were in time the most powerful men in Spain. Ripperda tried to reanimate Spanish industry. He established a large woolen manufactory at Segovia, once a busy city. The commonest processes had been forgotten by the Spaniards, so that he had to import workmen too. Charles III. invited thousands of workmen to settle in Spain hoping to invigorate the nation. By his personal power he brought Spain almost up to the first rank again, but since all his improvements were political and not national in origin the country collapsed

at his death, and Charles IV., a pure Spaniard in thought, easily brought about the reaction against the artificial progress of the century. He restored the power of the clergy which had been somewhat lamed in the preceding reigns, and again darkness falls over all. The mind of Spain was gone. The Spaniards did not want to improve ; they were satisfied with their inheritance ; they were and still are unable to doubt. And this is the work of the church.

And now a short review of the history of the two nations which stand as types of the *individualistic* species of social decadence. The germ of Greece's decadence may be detected already in the time of Euripides. The most significant fact of the age is the growth of that individualism which if controlled leads onward and upward but which in Grecian history reached such an extreme development that it caused the decline of the nation. At first, realization of personality in all—others as well as self—leads to great progress in civilization. For a time it seems as though humanity were broadened. The great care for the individual manifests itself in an organized dispensary system in which the ablest physicians received fixed salaries from the state to care for the poor. Charity is enjoined. The poor have rights and dignities. Even women and slaves are not treated with contempt. "For even a slave," says Philemon, "is our flesh and blood ; no one was ever born a slave by nature; fortune has but enslaved his body."

But after a while self-aggrandizement becomes the leading motive of conduct. Striving for power becomes the fashion of the day, and the jealousy, deceitfulness, and acuteness of intellect which this begets are the striking character traits in the prominent men of the age. The ego becomes the centre of interest and the intellect is cultivated at the expense of morals. Impatience with old customs and institutions is manifested so strongly that they rapidly decay. In this age of democracy, opinions change so frequently that the rising generations find themselves out of sympathy with their

fathers. Hence it is a common complaint in the literature of the day that old age is little respected. Sophocles in *Oedipus* speaks of old age as "feeble, unsociable, friendless, the constant object of reproach when all the woes of woes are the partners of our habitation." And Antiphanes exclaims: "Age is like wine; leave but a little in your vessel and it turns to vinegar." Too much respect for age, as in China, impedes progress, but utter disregard of the old in the end also defeats progress, for the undermining of tradition and the maiming of custom which naturally result from contempt of the old, seriously weaken the preservative forces of society. As a consequence of this we discover in the Greek life of the succeeding epoch the unmistakable symptoms of social decadence—disintegration of common bonds, sentiments, and spirit.

Evidence that the fatal germ of decay has already begun its work in the Euripidean age, is furnished by the literature of the day. Even in the tragedies of Euripides we discover that striving after effect and novelty, that desire to show the ingenuity of the author, and that extreme self-consciousness which are incontrovertible symptoms of decaying art. The chorus which was originally the medium for the expression of awe and reverence has become a mere instrument for the invention of melodies. These false principles dominate all literary effort. As the people care less and less for what is beyond and above themselves the poet disregards the canons of true art in order to please.

While the art of this period is great and can by no means be called decadent even in the epoch following, yet a change in the direction of its aim is to be noticed. Thought, actuated no more by the great social ideals of the Age of Pericles, expresses itself in art of a domestic character. Imitating the life around, art ceases to be public and religious. Religion is losing its hold upon the people. The Greek feels no more an instinctive faith in his gods. Unconsciously at least, his attitude toward the belief of his

fathers is influenced by his private judgment. Hence the expression of that faith in temples ceases to be the goal of art.

In the next epoch, or that of decadence proper, the ego is the all-absorbing thought; faith of all kinds is gone—faith in one's self, faith in others, faith in the destiny of the nation. Hence the aim of conduct is how to get the most out of the short space of years allotted to the individual. His comfort is the first consideration. Teachers, influenced no more by social ideals, abandon public life and make private life the object of study and precept. The Greek's former high sense of honor and keen love of liberty are gone. Hence he pays to have his land defended. Mercenaries constitute the army. "How much better it is to be under a good master than to live in poverty and be free," exclaims Menander. And again, "He who fights and runs away, will live to fight another day." Politics were abandoned by the best classes. The talented retired to schools of philosophy. Discussions flourished as actions ceased. The Greek religion of this period has no real meaning. It is full of ceremonies and foreign gods. In literature the desire to startle which was detected in the preceding epoch is now carried so far that in the Cassandra of Lycophron of Alexandria there is a riddle in every line. Illustrations are given for their own sake, not for the purpose of making clear a point. Literature steps beyond its proper sphere and encroaches upon the domain of painting. With the exception of the poems of Theocritus who goes to the country for his themes (an innovation), and the epigrams, there is nothing original in the literature of the period.

The art of the period follows the bent it had already taken in the preceding age, becoming more and more domestic and less and less public and religious. Though no great monuments or temples are erected, house architecture continues to develop. The sphere of art is narrowed to suit the tastes of

the day. But still it is a great art. Who could impugn an art which produced a *Venus de Medici*, a *Farnesian Bull* or a *Laocoön*?

Now what conclusion can be drawn from this rapid survey of Grecian decadence? Was not ultra development of individualism responsible for that dwindling of social pride, that fading of a common faith and vanishing of ideals, that treatment of the present as the all-engrossing time, that adoption of personal comfort and luxury as the end of living, that substitution of theorists for men of action which led to the ultimate decline of the nation whose culture the world has never been able to surpass?

What now is the story of Rome? "The ancient Roman," says Mommsen, "felt the glory and might of the community as a personal possession to be transmitted to posterity by every individual." This collective sense of pride held the state together. When the Roman citizen lost it Rome became degenerate. In the time of Cato the Elder occur the first symptoms of decay in the peculiar institutions, traditions, and customs of the Romans. Foreign ideals are beginning to sway conduct and life, and Roman religious identity soon loses itself through the rapid assimilation of strange cults. Greek fancies and customs are eagerly adopted, among them drinking the health, or "playing the Greek" as it was called. Indeed, the Romans are soon playing the Greek in all concerns of life both domestic and public. The imitative capacity of the Roman soon leads to a cosmopolitanism which results ultimately in the loss of patriotism, the disappearance of national feeling and the growth of an extreme individualism, which here, as in the case of Greece, proves the nation's bane. At this time religion has already become ossified into theology. The native gods and observances have been supplanted or modified by foreign cults. The cultured cease to believe in the old gods and the government uses the national religion as a superstition for imposing upon the public

at large. Corruption enters politics and administration too, at this time. The following instance illustrates the degeneration into which the old customs had fallen: From early times it had been the custom to dismiss a political gathering if a thunderstorm arose. Now, a law was enacted by which a popular assembly was to be dismissed if it should occur to a high magistrate to merely look up at the sky for the approach of a storm. In this way it was possible to prevent the passage of any law, and the power of the officials thus became immeasurable.

This state of things continued to increase until the period marked by the striving for one-man power is reached—the time of Catiline, Pompey, Cicero and Cæsar. The old pride of the Roman in his state is now almost gone. Selfish aims dominate politics. The great men of the day are as individualistic as the Greeks ever were. Social ideals are supplanted by selfish ones; the bonds uniting the citizens of Rome as Romans are much weakened.

Then comes the story of the empire. Under the emperors the taste for luxury, fostered by Augustus, grows until it reaches its climax during the reign of Nero. As the Roman became more and more cosmopolitan, he became more and more lax. Pleasure grew to be the main business of life. The number of national games and festivals was greatly increased. Gladiatorial combats in which human blood was shed became the chief amusement. Trade with the East was increased for the sake of indulgence in personal luxury. The great revolution in manners and life produced an economic revolution. Residence in the city was now more desired. As the people flocked in from the country rents rose. In consequence of the overcrowding of the towns a large unemployed class arose. Therefore many took to plundering, cheating, usurious trading in money. Dice playing had to be checked by legislature. When we contemplate the extent to which vice and luxury were spread abroad, we are astonished that the empire endured as it

did, and most of all that it had vitality enough left to recover somewhat from the depths into which it was plunged by Nero.

But such was its vigor that a period of what Gibbon calls "general felicity" follows. During the eight reigns extending over one hundred and ten years, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, prosperity did seem to smile once again on Rome. The people, profiting by the experience of the early empire abandoned luxurious living. Frugal manners and habits were approved at court. Vespasian once rebuked a candidate for office who entered his ante-chamber highly perfumed, saying: "I had rather you had smelt of garlic." Wealth was no longer the highest object of desire. Learning was encouraged. But in spite of these facts the period was, after all, but an effort at recuperation. No permanent good resulted from it. The Romans were too far along the road to ruin to be called back. For even in this period of temporary brightness the religion, literature, and art show unmistakable signs of decay. The fear of the barbarians and the horror of plagues and famine led the people to resort to ancient religious ceremonies. The renewed faith in dreams and astrology, partly due to the reaction against the skepticism of the first century, restored the oracle to his sometime post of honor. New shrines to the deities of earth, air and water were erected. Sacrificial worship was instituted for the gods supposed to have an influence over health. As a consequence of this renewal of old customs which the intellect of the race had outgrown, pretenders of all sorts arose. Thus religion was characterized by fanaticism on the one hand and by insincerity on the other.

In art the aim was not beauty but novel effects. All was sacrificed to this idea. Hence the erection of such buildings as the temple of Hadrian in Ajzicus, Bithynia is a sign of the times. This temple was of such gigantic proportions that Aristides in his dedicating speech says: "Your city is the only one which does not need lighthouses or high towers

to guide mariners to its harbor. The temple fills, as it were, the whole horizon and marks the situation of the city. Every block of marble is as a complete temple." The use of stucco work instead of stone for decoration, and brick and cheap materials in parts not intended to be seen, are other proofs of the insincerity of their art. The sculptor, too, strove to make an impression and stamped with self-consciousness all his work. Realism is attempted in portrait statues clothed as in real life. The sphere of one art encroaches upon that of another. This is seen in the bas-reliefs, which appropriate principles both of sculpture and painting.

In literature, from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius, the individualistic tendency is noticed. As in the corresponding period in Grecian history, all canons of art are subordinated to the effort to please and astonish. Applause of his contemporaries was the author's goal. Hence the literature of the day is marked by lawlessness in the choice of subjects, violence of expression, mannerisms of all kinds. We do hear a protest against this sort of thing from Quintilian. He was, however, out of sympathy with his times and so his protest was in vain. "Almost all our speech is metaphor," he says. The antique, the remote, the unexpected was the fashion. Satire and epigram were the characteristic form of literary production. Seneca, Statius and Martial were all time-servers. Juvenal, however, paints the social vices of his age, and Lucian ridicules the superstition of the people.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius the decay of the Romans went steadily on without conscious effort at recoil until it culminated in the fall of Rome. Loss of national identity, resulting in intense individualism, is the feature of this last stage of Roman decadence. Indeed Rome became the rendezvous for adventurers from all over the world. It was dangerous to venture abroad in the streets even in the daytime, so full were they of desperate characters. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the fourth

century, says: "But of the lower and most indigent class of the populace some spend the whole night in the wine shops. Some lie concealed in shady arcades of the theatres . . . or else they play at dice so eagerly as to quarrel over them; or (and this is a favorite pursuit of all others) from sunrise to evening they stay gaping through sunshine or rain, examining in the most careful manner the most sterling good or bad qualities of the charioteers and horses."¹ The rabble of the capital, accustomed to being fed by despotic rulers, cried "Give us bread for nothing and games forever." Even in the age of Trajan Juvenal made one of his characters say: "I cannot bear this Greek city. But the Greeks are not the worst feature, for the Syrian Orontes has long since emptied itself into the Tiber."

Among the signs of the times are the withdrawal of gold and silver from circulation, the unequal distribution of wealth, the rapid depopulation of the empire, the frequency of fires, famines, and epidemics, the degeneracy of the soldier class, the loss of respect for learning, and the substitution of frivolous amusements for the more dignified ones of early days. Says Ammianus Marcellinus: "Those few houses which were formerly celebrated for the serious cultivation of becoming studies are now filled with the ridiculous amusements of torpid indolence, re-echoing with the sound of vocal music and the tinkle of flutes and lyres. Lastly, instead of a philosopher we find a singer; instead of an orator some teacher of the ridiculous arts is summoned, and the libraries are closed forever like so many graves; organs to be played by water power are made, and lyres of so vast a size that they look like wagons; and flutes and ponderous machines suited for the exhibitions of actors."² The Roman had at this time utterly lost his personal pride in the glory of the community and his doom was sealed.

From the foregoing review of these two ancient civilizations it is evident that excessive individualism caused their

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 21.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 19.

decay. In Greece the analytical turn of mind led to extreme individualism, while in Rome the Roman's imitativeness led to the loss of national character and the consequent growth of individualism. In both cases the rise of individualism, while beneficial at first, proved fatal because it was not controlled and moderated by the group. When individualism fosters the consciousness of one's self to the exclusion of group consciousness it becomes destructive, for in societies an exaggerated self-consciousness of the unit is destructive, group consciousness is preservative. The only individualism which can exist permanently in a progressive society is that which is controlled by group consciousness, that in which the individual personality is brought to completeness and freedom under control of group ideals. This is the lesson the ancients failed to master in their struggle for world power. Are we moderns any wiser? Dr. Lester F. Ward says: "As yet only the individual is rational. The way to counteract the evil effects of mind operating in the individual is to infuse a larger share of the same mind element into the controlling power of society. Such a powerful weapon as reason is unsafe in the hands of one individual when wielded against another. It is still more dangerous in the hands of corporations, which proverbially have no souls. It is most baneful of all in the hands of compound corporations, which seek to control the wealth of the world. It is only safe when employed by the social ego emanating from the collective brain of society and directed toward securing the common interests of the social organism."¹

To sum up. A healthy social life, which consists in the maximum of individual freedom, enterprise and ambition, coupled with a hearty and generous cherishing of common or group interests and concerns, must be steered between Scylla and Charybdis. The one danger is *institutional decadence*, due to a dying out of energy, enterprise, and power of co-operation by reason of an overgrowth of traditions and

¹ The *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 276.

institutions which fetter the individual without serving group interests. The other danger is *individualistic decadence*, due to the suffering of all common or group interests by reason of the dissolution of common faiths, ideals, and undertakings and the hypertrophy of private consciousness, private feelings, and private aims. Strange as it may seem, the final stage of each disease is the same. Toward the end of either type of decadence we have people who are egoistic without being strong in individual character, selfish without being ambitious, unscrupulous without being enterprising, depending on one another, yet without the capacity of co-operation, sociable yet powerless for effective association, too indifferent for great corporate achievements, yet too feeble for splendid individual achievements.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

COMPULSORY VOTING IN BELGIUM.

With the institution of the plural vote and the compulsory vote, established in 1893, and of proportional representation, adopted in 1899, the system of a practically universal suffrage as applied in the little kingdom of Belgium has reached a standard of intelligent organization as yet unequaled in any other country. The principles of the whole organization which is more intricate in its appearance than in reality, the operation of the system and its justification alike from a theoretical point of view and from its practical results are fully discussed in the very learned, concise and clear study recently published by Professor Léon Dupriez.¹

The plural vote, which gives supplementary voting power to the better qualified members of the community, such as the heads of families, landowners, government bondholders and people of education, was adopted contemporaneously with a constitutional revision which had for its principal object a more than ten-fold extension of the franchise which would make the suffrage nearly if not quite universal. The danger attending the latter change was that the more responsible and sounder classes of the community, irrespective of social standing, might be swamped, electorally at least, by the sudden rush of radical, socialist, and collectivist voters, especially in the thickly populated industrial areas and in the large cities of the country. Plural voting was thus intended as a careful counterpoise, and not as a check to democratic reforms; and statistics show clearly that it has worked as a balancing-pole or ballast to public opinion, not to impede its progress, but to steady its movements and make them less hazardous, less fitful and less dangerous to the welfare of the country.

Proportional representation was voted several years later, after a long and painful struggle against various sections of opinion. Some opposed it as they had opposed universal suffrage and plural voting, because they distrusted all political novelties. Others opposed it because they felt that an equitable distribution of political power amongst parties would inevitably lessen their power or do away altogether with seats traditionally held by themselves or by their friends in particular constituencies. The reform, however, went through,

¹ *L'organisation du Suffrage Universel en Belgique; Vote Plural; Vote Obligatoire; Représentation Proportionnelle.* By LÉON DUPRIEZ, Professor at the University of Louvain. Pp. 260. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: Larose, 1901.

and, so far as a first experiment enables one to judge of its effects, it is undoubtedly a success; it has strengthened the party organization, it has greatly diminished the bitterness of political campaigns and it has raised the parliamentary standard. (Together with the plural vote, proportional representation may be taken as the crowning feature in the organization of a very democratic franchise, and the political and social condition of Belgium rendered the adoption of these advanced reforms as imperative as they have proved beneficial.) Not so, however, with countries in a different stage of political development. The plural vote would certainly be looked upon as a step backwards wherever the franchise has already been made general, and a proposal to establish it would surely be opposed as giving unjustifiable privilege to some classes of voters. Proportional representation on the other hand, is not an urgent need in countries where public opinion is almost evenly divided between two great parties who come into power alternately, nor in countries where the theory generally prevails that to the victor belong the spoils and that the defeated party has no right to complain because it is left out in the cold, waiting for its turn to break into the house triumphantly, while the others revel inside.

But the compulsory vote appears to the student of political science as the *alpha* of electoral organization. The greatest evil in a democracy is the indifference of its best people towards public business, and the worst form of that indifference is electoral abstention, because it leaves the government of the country and the power of the legislature completely in the hands of the professional politician and his disreputable supporters. Now it is a fact that unless the quieter people are made to vote, by some artificial machinery, it is very hard to bring them to the polls in the necessary large numbers, even where party organization is strong and when a vital question is at stake. Statistics show that in countries such as England, the United States, Belgium and Switzerland, where the natural organization of political life is far ahead of the rest of the world, abstentions still range from 14 to 30 or 40 per cent of the electoral body. (Before 1893 in Belgium 16 per cent of the voters used to stay away, notwithstanding the exertions of the party leaders. After the adoption of the compulsory vote the average rate of abstention fell suddenly to between 4 and 5 per cent and it is sure to decrease still more owing to the increased chance of success that proportional representation gives to all parties interested in the political struggle. This small rate of abstention does not even represent the real number of voters who might have voted and did not attend the polls. This is because, first, a certain percentage of voters on the register are dead when the elections come round, and

second, some more are prevented from attending through illness, age or absence from the country. The records of the police courts, where the cases of non-attendance are tried, show that out of a total of 1,058,165 voters called to the polls in 1898, 5,551 failed to attend without giving previous notice of the reason to the courts and were prosecuted; 2,621 of these, however, were excused by the magistrate on legal grounds such as illness, age or absence. This leaves 2,930 who were fined, which represents a rate of unexcusable or guilty abstention of not quite 3 per cent of the electoral body, or exactly 2.76 out of every thousand. How was this wonderful success achieved?

The theoretical question whether the suffrage may be rendered compulsory by statute would scarcely have been raised in parliament, but for the personal antagonism of a few prominent members to the then prime minister and head of the conservative party, Mr. Burnaert. This difficulty, however, was easily put aside, since the franchise has generally ceased to be looked upon purely as a right which a citizen is at liberty to make use of or to neglect, and is on the contrary regarded as a civic duty, which he is bound to perform scrupulously in the interests of the community for which every citizen is a trustee in a general way.

The main objection of most political thinkers to the compulsory vote is the practical difficulty of enforcing the obligation efficiently. Obviously public opinion would not brook severe penalties such as a heavy fine or a term of imprisonment for an infringement of duty slight in itself and which becomes prejudicial only when it becomes customary and involves a large section of the electoral body. And if the penalty is but light, who will be afraid to incur it, if one derives more profit from attending to one's business or one's pleasure than from voting? The answer to the problem was found in a particular kind of penalties at once light but such as are not risked lightly by responsible citizens, ranging from a mere warning in the case of first offenders, to a small fine of 25 francs and the suspension of political rights for a period of ten years in the case of obdurate offenders. This suspension precludes the offender from being, during that term, a candidate for any office or promotion whatsoever in the public service, and from public honors and deprives him of his franchise for the same time. To some it looked ridiculous to punish a man by taking from him a right precisely because he did not care to exercise it. But it is one thing to wilfully neglect a privilege under certain uninteresting circumstances, and another to be deprived of it altogether for ten years. The facts, as shown by statistics, fully bore out the soundness of the confidence which the framers of the revised constitution of 1893 had put in the compulsory vote. Its immediate success might perhaps not be

quite so great in some other countries, because, as we know, abstentions were never very common in Belgium, owing to the keenness of political struggles, the organization of parties and the high standard of political education of the people. But, there is every reason to think that, everywhere the obligation would breed the custom of attendance and that this in turn would awaken a new interest in political campaigns.) If democracy is to redeem its magnificent pledges to the people, as we fondly hope, it can only do so by the co-operation of the more honest, the more responsible, in a word, the better citizens of the country, and this must be secured at any cost, either voluntarily by education—and history shows that mere education, example and persuasion are not always a match for the scheming professional politicians and the machine bosses—or by the compulsory vote.

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THE IMPORTATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

In recent years there has been a growing hostility toward the practice which has long prevailed of sending dependent children outside the borders of the state in which they become dependent to place them in foster homes. This sentiment is rapidly crystallizing in laws either forbidding the practice or restricting it. The following study was made in the hope of getting at the facts in the case and in the further hope that some of the principles which should apply might appear. To this end letters were sent to persons throughout the states involved who were in positions to know local conditions and local sentiment.

The legislation now in existence, so far as can be learned, is as follows:

In 1895 Michigan (Act No. 33, Public Acts, 1895; App. Mar. 26, 1895) passed a law requiring all associations or individuals wishing to place a child from without the state in a home within the state to file a bond of \$1,000, before the judge of probate of the county in which the child is to be placed; that such child shall not become a town, county or state charge before it shall have reached the age of twenty-one. In case the child becomes dependent the bond is forfeited and placed in the general fund of the state treasurer. "Any person who shall take such child indentured, apprenticed, adopted or otherwise disposed of, to him or her, except in the manner herein provided, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor."

Minnesota in 1899 (Chapter 138—S. F., No. 244, App. Apr. 17, 1899) required associations bringing in children to file an indemnity bond

of \$1,000, conditioned as follows: That they will not bring in any child that is incorrigible or unsound in mind or body; that they will remove any child which becomes a public ward within three years; that they will maintain a supervision of the children placed out, visiting them at least once a year; that they will make such reports to the State Board of Charities and Corrections as that body may require. The state board mentioned has charge of this work, and may make additional regulations.

Indiana, in an act approved February 13, 1899, forbide any association or individual, including residents of the state, to bring in children without first obtaining the written consent of the Board of State Charities, conforming to its rules and filing an indemnity bond of \$10,000, that said child shall not become a public charge, and agreeing to remove the child on thirty days' notice from the board, with a forfeit of \$1,000 if the child is not removed. Relatives are exempt from the provisions of the act. Violation of the act is a misdemeanor.

Illinois (Senate No. 269, sec. 17, App. April 22, 1899) enacted that no association incorporated under the laws of any other state shall place a child in a family home, within the borders of the state, unless said association shall have furnished the State Commissioners of Public Charities with such guarantee as they may require; that no child shall be brought in having any contagious or incurable disease, or having any deformity, or being of feeble mind, or of vicious character; and that said association will remove any child that becomes a public charge within five years. Any person placing a child in violation of this act shall be imprisoned in the county jail not more than thirty days or fined not less than \$5.00 or more than \$100, or both.

Kansas (March, 1901), Missouri (March, 1901) and Pennsylvania (1901) copied the Illinois act.

In addition there is an active agitation for restrictive laws in Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska and the Dakotas. A similar section in a bill in Ohio failed of adoption because of opposition to other features of the bill.

From the answers to the inquiry it appears that the opposition to the practice of importing children is wide-spread. The testimony is practically unanimous that the starting point of this opposition was the poor work of the pioneer organizations in this line in their earlier years. Children were dumped by the carload till at length an outcry was made. The present opposition seems to be based on three points: (1) It is generally believed that children placed by outside societies are not so carefully placed nor supervised as is for their interest, and

that frequently this lack of supervision amounts to gross neglect and opens the way for great abuse. (2) Through this neglect and, sometimes, because of the undesirable character of the children imported, they become in many cases wards of the new state, and must be supported at public expense if not cared for by private charity. (3) The importation of children tends to hinder the work of finding good homes for the dependent children of the state, particularly when those imported do not do well, as this causes many who are perhaps thinking of taking a child to decide in the negative.

In regard to the first point there is no question that many organizations, even to-day, place children without careful investigation of the proffered homes, sometimes without any investigation, and then neglect the children after they are placed. These organizations are not confined to any one locality, but are to be found in many states. The chief offenders are commonly supposed to be in New York and Chicago.

A few cases may be cited to show the justice of the complaints. It is to be remembered that these are recent complaints. "I learned of a seven-year-old girl who was not allowed to come into the house to eat or sleep, and who, when the weather was cold, crawled in with the pigs to sleep, and who went so nearly naked that quite a coat of hair developed over her body. As a punishment they made her kneel with bare knees on a dust-pan of gravel, and hold up an iron sledge with which they drove fence posts. It was hard to get the child to sleep on a bed, for she had never known one." "Another boy was taken by a Mr. ——. His teacher missed him from school a few days, and when he came one eye was swelled shut and his face bruised. Teacher asked him how he got hurt and he was afraid to tell, but gaining his confidence he told her that Mr. —— struck him, knocking him senseless, and he lay on the floor for some time and was not able to come to school for several days." Eye-witnesses have told a friend of the writer that a number of little children sent to certain foreigners in Wisconsin already tagged with the names of their new parents were the cause of free fights on the platform when certain families were displeased with the children allotted to them. About a year ago a child was taken from a gang of professional thieves at Cincinnati by the court. She had been placed in the family of the leader by a certain large institution. An experienced worker writes: "Probably seventy-five cases of misplacement have come under my notice within the past five years. In one town of three thousand people notice had been given that a car with boys would be in from New York at a certain hour, and families were asked to be on hand and take the children. Old residents told me

that twenty-three families came to take boys, *not one-half of whom were fit to care for any child.*" Residents of a little town in Texas told a friend of mine within a month that five or six of a company of boys placed near there had drifted away from the homes selected within a couple of weeks.

That the second charge is not without foundation is also capable of proof. "I took a child a week ago said to have been sent in from Illinois a year before, also two, a month ago, from Missouri. From a carload lot one was in a charitable institution within two weeks of arrival." "A few years ago the _____ institution sent out a degenerate who gradually grew worse till it became necessary to send him to an institution. The county commissioners wrote to the institution asking them to take him back, but they refused and employed an attorney to watch the case and notify them if he were sent to _____. This the commissioners did, but were met at the depot by an agent, who threatened arrest if he attempted to abandon the boy, as he had acquired a residence in South Dakota. The result was that he was brought back and the county will have to pay the institution he is in sixteen dollars a month as long as he lives." Of two boys in another state it is reported: "The older one ran away and eventually came before the county judge to be sent to the reform school." In another state a correspondent says: "We have some of them in the reform school and some in the penitentiary."

The third objection may be stated in two ways. Some claim that there are only so many homes into which children may go and that if outsiders take these homes there will be just so many less for the children of the state. To the writer this point is not well taken. The number of homes open to children is not fixed but variable. If the children placed in a locality do well many other homes are opened because of this fact. If the children do poorly the reverse is true. It frequently happens, too, that people prefer children coming from a distance, as there is less likelihood of interference from relatives and busybodies. If very large numbers of children were placed in one locality the objection would have more force. The fact that it is still possible to find homes for the dependent children of the state in Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa refutes the objection, for these are the states in which large numbers of Eastern children have been placed. It must be granted, however, that children might be imported in overwhelming numbers.

The second form of this third objection is more valid. It is said that the poor placing and the lack of supervision often bring the placing-out method into disrepute and make it harder to get good homes for the dependent children of the state. This is the com-

mon experience of all home-finding societies and needs no other proof.

The weight of these arguments being admitted, the practical problem confronts us as to the proper attitude toward the subject. Our discussion may practically be confined to agencies outside of the state, as it will seldom happen that local agencies import children. The home supply keeps them busy. Two courses are possible: (1) The practice may be forbidden or such onerous restrictions imposed as to practically prohibit it; (2) a certain standard of excellence may be established and outside organizations compelled to do their work in accordance therewith.

Indiana and Michigan have taken the former course. Few organizations will file a \$10,000 bond as required in Indiana (as a matter of fact none has done so), nor will any organization file a \$1,000 bond for each child as required in Michigan. Really, then, the importation of any children by outside agencies (or home agencies) is stopped unless the law is disregarded. Nor will many residents of the state obey such laws. The authorities in the states mentioned profess great satisfaction with the results. It unquestionably stops importation in carload lots and in so far is good. The writer happens to know, however, that persons resident within these states are constantly going outside the borders of the state and taking children back with them in entire disregard of the provisions of the law.

The other states have taken the latter course. Minnesota, for instance, requires fifteen days' notice prior to the time when the child is to be placed. Such notice must show the names of the foster-parents, their residence, the full name of the child, date and place of birth, physical history and the present physical, mental and moral conditions; the facts relating to the history of its parents; when, where and how the child was received, etc. Not more than twenty-five children are to be received in any one quarter. The organization placing the child must visit it yearly. The New York Foundling Asylum and the Minnesota Children's Home Society have filed bonds as required by the law. In Illinois, to cite one institution, the New York Juvenile Asylum is limited to ten children per month, and these must not have been committed to the institution for crime.

It seems to me that the tendency to draw state lines in child-saving work is very unfortunate and ill-advised. I agree with him who writes: "A free-born American child, healthy in every particular, ought to be welcome in every state in the Union, provided it has, or is offered, a home free from immoral influences." It will be generally admitted that it is not right to dump on other communities the defective and diseased, including the morally imbecile. These may

be left out of consideration. The real point in the present discussion is not whether the children from Cincinnati should be placed in Ohio rather than across the river in Kentucky, etc., but whether the children are to be placed in the best homes offered where they shall be trained for useful citizenship. The question is far broader than a state question, be the state large or small. It is ultimately the welfare of the nation which is under discussion. If this is true the welfare of the children of New York City is just as important to the residents of Indiana as is the welfare of those much nearer the state house at Indianapolis.

At the same time it will be granted, as a rule, it is better that the wards of any society should be placed as near the central office as is practicable. It will be easier to judge of the fitness of the homes and easier, as well as cheaper, to supervise them and to replace them when necessary. This last is important, for, probably, at least one-third of the children placed in foster homes are replaced once or more before they come to self-support. Again, the fact that most of the work is done at home will tend to make the institution careful in its methods, as those who support the organization will quickly learn of improper work and be influenced thereby. When the evil results are at a distance they do not come home with the same force. This, however, is not the same as saying that state lines should be the final boundaries. Various organizations of Massachusetts are placing their wards in surrounding states without evil results so far as I am able to learn. The Cincinnati Children's Home and the House of Refuge can much better care for their wards across the river in Kentucky than were these same children in Northern Ohio. An impartial and well-informed observer, Mr. J. J. Kelso, of Toronto, writes: "It seems to me that the various states are rather severe on each other in prohibiting the exchange of children from one state to another. Some of the legislation that has been passed is too drastic and practically means prohibition." It is interesting to note his statement regarding the importation of English children into Canada. "Some four years ago legislation was introduced in this province regulating the importation from Great Britain. This was owing to the popular impression that an undesirable class was being brought out. There is still a good deal of feeling on this subject, but my own impression is that the work is not detrimental, but is a decided help both to the children and the country."

It should not be forgotten that the evils mentioned are not confined to the work of foreign societies. Every objection urged against their careless work applies with equal force to the common methods of placing out children by home agencies. It is not at all difficult to

find certain classes of institutions which place out a good many children from one year to another who never attempt any supervision of the children placed and make but little, if any, preliminary investigation. Many an instance of gross neglect could be cited where the child in question had been placed within five miles of the home office. Children of the state are no less subject to abuse than children from without the state. The native children are to be found in jails and reformatories in no small numbers. The matter of fact is that the placing-out work of the country at large has not been done as carefully as could be desired, nor has the supervision been such as commends itself to-day. Much of this was inevitable, but it should not be overlooked in discussing the importation of children. I do not know of an organization in the Middle or Western States which visits all of its wards who are out in homes at least once a year, though some of the state agencies come somewhere near this. These things being so, it will not do to put too much odium on the foreign society.

There would seem to be more reason for the attempt to exclude children, usually boys, who have been committed to an institution for some offence. I question, however, even the wisdom of this in most cases. To begin with, the writ of commitment in a given case is by no means a sure indication of the real trouble. I have been told of a Wisconsin law that children committed to a certain institution for incorrigibility were to be supported at the expense of the county from which they came, while if the commitments were on the ground of petty larceny the expense was borne by the state. Commitments for incorrigibility are said to be almost unheard of. I have known a young man sent to a reformatory for walking on the railroad track, though the real cause of the commitment was that he was suspected of petty thieving. I have known boys of less than twelve years sent to a city reformatory who had merely been truant from school. If the penology of to-day stands for anything it is that such boys should be given a chance under proper conditions and away from the old environments. The experience of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society indicates that such a course with careful supervision of the boys leads to good results. Why then should we draw a line between the states and say that such a boy shall not cross this line to enter some good family ready to receive him? There is a need for common sense in dealing with boys of this class. To take a boy of fourteen to sixteen from one of the old style institutions, or new style, and place him in the first shop or on the first farm offered and then leave him without oversight is to invite trouble. This will be true whether the new home is within or without the state. Many such boys are placed out from Massachusetts, and complaints are few, but the work

is not done in the hit or miss fashion. In a word, the point of attack with regard to this phase of the question, recognizing that the complaints are often well founded, is not the child's previous record nor his previous home, but the method under which he is placed in a new environment and the means taken to adjust him to this change.

It being granted, then, that dependent children of all states are usually of the same species; that it is to the interest of the entire country that they be placed in the best possible homes, usually away from the old environment; that, if this is done, the chances are that self-supporting and self-respecting men and women will be developed; the writer must confess that he sees no necessity for legislation specially directed against those who become dependent outside of any particular state. If the Indiana plan is to prevail, interstate comity would seem to require that Indiana enact a law forbidding the placing of its dependent children outside of the borders of the state. I do not remember to have heard this advocated. Instead of attempting to hinder the bringing in of children it seems to me that the point of our efforts should be to guarantee that good homes should be selected and proper supervision exercised for all children who are placed out in foster homes by all the agencies. This means state inspection and supervision of the work of local agencies. Indiana has taken a long step in this direction by requiring the placing out organizations to report to the State Board of Charities and in having the foster homes visited by an agent of this body. This means that an agent of the state is given an opportunity to learn at first hand the character of the work being done by home agencies. Some such method as this under a board of charities or a state board of children's guardians, the board being given large discretion, should furnish a reasonable guarantee that all the children were properly cared for. It seems to me, then, that the proper method of procedure is to establish a certain standard of excellence and to bring the work of all agencies up to this standard. I am heartily in favor of wise regulation of the placing out work, but I am not in sympathy with the spirit which would close good homes to needy children.

It is to be admitted that there will be failures no matter what the system. Boys and girls brought into Illinois sometimes do badly, but that is no reason for keeping out others who may do well. The ability to place children in other states has frequently been of great value. The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society has often turned over some of its children to organizations in other states, these other organizations assuming the control and responsibility, with splendid results. One cause of the feeling of general antagonism to outside agencies has been the great development of placing out work

in the states under discussion. This has sometimes led to a narrow-minded view of the general situation. This short-sighted prejudice against outside agencies coupled with righteous indignation against the bad work of many of them has produced the opposition. It is to be hoped that the more liberal legislation will prevail. Another fact, which throws a side light upon the general question, is that from the neighboring states, say Michigan, go more unmarried mothers to be delivered, to have the children and often themselves cared for by the charitable agencies of Chicago, than there are children placed by all the agencies of Illinois in Michigan during the same period. The world is too small for glass houses.

A final point of the greatest importance is the question as to how much of the attempt to regulate the importation of children, that is, the attempt to draw artificial boundaries over which certain classes of normal people may not pass nor be passed, is constitutional. There are those who do not hesitate to declare that certain provisions of the Indiana law, for instance, are unconstitutional. This is a point which the courts must determine and one which I am not competent to discuss, but it has a vital bearing on the question. In this connection see *Charities Review*, April, 1901, p. 279.

CARL KELSEY.

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BANKING AMONG THE POOR: THE LIGHTHOUSE SAVINGS FUND EXPERIMENT.

The principal reason why the poor do not save is undoubtedly that they have so little to spend. At the same time, the experience of the Lighthouse Savings Fund of Philadelphia demonstrates that another important reason is the lack of savings agencies in which the poor have confidence. The above institution was opened in June, 1900, in a crowded manufacturing district in Kensington, and is the outgrowth of a "stamp centre" of the Theodore Starr Savings Bank conducted for several years in the same locality. Its success has been truly remarkable. The balance-sheet showed about \$7,000 in deposits at the end of the first month. At the end of nine months this figure had risen to nearly \$17,000. And this growth has interfered but little with the prosperity of commercial savings institutions in the same vicinity. It is to be explained principally by the personal confidence which people in the neighborhood have in Miss Kelly, one of the organizers of the Savings Fund. The importance of this factor was illustrated when the business was moved to its present site, at the corner of Lehigh Avenue and Mascher Street, and a run was only

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averted by assuring anxious depositors that it was still "Miss Kelly's bank." On the other hand, many of the mill-workers of the district have refused to have anything to do with a neighboring financial institution, supported largely by the capital of their employers, because, as they say, if mill-owners suspected that their employees were saving they would promptly cut down wages. Both facts illustrate that the development of providence among the poor depends in large measure on the establishment of personal relations of mutual confidence between the banker and his prospective customers.

The Lighthouse Savings Fund has been conducted during its first nine months at an average monthly expenditure of about one hundred dollars. During this time it has helped more than five thousand people to save, and in this way has done as much for the physical and moral well-being of its patrons as any possible preventive agency could hope to do. Its business is steadily growing, and gives promise of eventually reaching very considerable proportions. While it is not yet self-supporting, its cost is but trifling when compared with the benefits it already confers. Moreover, instead of showing an increasing deficit, like many an old-fashioned charity, the figures point to an opposite result, and to its becoming almost, if not quite, self-supporting in the not very distant future.

The belief that this little institution is rendering valuable social service, and the hope that it may be copied by similar institutions in other localities, leads me to give the readers of the *ANNALS* a somewhat technical description of its business methods.

The bank has been organized on a plan which admits of almost indefinite expansion, but which is simplicity itself. With over 900 book depositors and more than 3,200 stamp-cards outstanding, its business is easily handled by the cashier and two youthful assistants. It is now open every day and on two evenings in the week, so that opportunity is given to get to the bank, however long the depositor's working hours may be.

The bank receives two classes of deposits: book deposits, on which interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent per annum, and stamp deposits, which do not bear interest. In the former class, the first deposit must be at least two dollars, and no amounts of less than ten cents are entered in the bank books. In the latter class, deposits of any amount are received.

Entering the bank, one sees three windows which are lettered, respectively: "Book Deposits," "Withdrawals," and "Stamp Deposits." The last window always seems the most popular, and particularly on Friday and Saturday afternoon and evening is constantly surrounded by large numbers of children.

One week's notice is required in order to make a withdrawal. At the time this notice is given, the depositor is required to leave his bank book, and is given in exchange a small receipt card. A week later the money is payable on surrender of the card, and by signing a receipt. The use of consecutive numbers on the receipt cards makes the finding of any particular item exceedingly easy. All the money represented by a stamp-card has to be drawn at one time, no payments on account being made in this class of deposits. These withdrawals are treated in the same way as book withdrawals, except that the deposit being to bearer, the money is simply paid out on surrender of the receipt card.

The work of the bank is divided into three distinct parts—the receipt of book deposits, the sale of stamps, and the payment of withdrawals. All book deposits are entered in the receiving teller's scratcher at the same time that they are entered in the depositor's book. At the close of the day all the deposits are entered in the individual depositors' ledger. The form of ledger used is a "loose leaf" book, with columns for dates, deposits, withdrawals and balances. Book withdrawals are treated in the same way as deposits, with the exception that a week's notice is required before the cash is paid out. This permits the cashier always to provide for a week in advance, and enables a small force to handle easily a large amount of current business. Interest is paid on these book accounts, and is calculated by transferring each month to a card index, the monthly balance on which interest is allowed. At the end of the year the interest is computed by a short method, and is added to the bank book and ledger in the same way as an ordinary deposit.

A signature book is kept, in which the depositor signs his name on opening the account, or, where this is not possible, owing to illiteracy or the tender years of the customer, the name is noted by the cashier with some description of the depositor.

An alphabetical card index of the depositors is also kept.

In a community such as that in which the Lighthouse Savings Fund transacts its business, many active book accounts are opened without getting the depositor's signature. Often a single child will do the banking for a whole street, and it is a matter of wonder that a child of eight or nine can remember the amounts of perhaps a dozen different deposits and withdrawals without so much as a scrap of paper to aid in thefeat of memory.

The only other book used by this department is the "Withdrawals of Deposits" scratcher. In it the amounts to be withdrawn are entered in numerical order, and the depositor signs for the sum received.

The stamp business requires less bookkeeping; a balance-sheet showing the number of stamps on hand, and the "Stamps Redeemed" scratcher comprising the entire outfit of this department. A settlement is made at the close of each day's business, and it is always possible to tell the exact amount of stamps outstanding and the number of cards on which they are placed. Extreme accuracy has to be observed in the handling of stamps, as a mistake once made is irretrievable.

Monthly balance sheets are taken off by the cashier of the bank, and his accounts are audited each month. In addition, the cashier and his assistants are bonded in a surety company.

The funds of the bank are deposited in a trust company, which is its active depository, and a special reserve is kept in another large banking house.

A list of the books used by the bank and a copy of the rules in regard to deposits, etc., would still further explain its methods, but it is believed that the above description contains in general the information indispensable to anyone who desires to establish a similar institution. Should a more detailed account of the operations of the bank be desired, its officers will be very glad to supply it.

F. B. KIRKBRIDE.

Philadelphia.

CORRECTION.—The clause on page 77, line 7, in this department of the **May ANNALS** (Vol. XVII), reading, "a two-thirds vote of" should be corrected to read "a majority of all of the members elected to." The "two-thirds" requirement was a feature of the revised constitution submitted to the voters of Rhode Island in 1899, but was rejected.

PERSONAL NOTES.

Bates College.—Dr. C. William A. Veditz has been appointed Acting Professor of History and Economics at Bates College, Lewiston, Me. He was born at Philadelphia, November 18, 1872, and received his early education in the public schools and the Philadelphia Central Manual Training School, from which institution he graduated in 1889. The same year he entered the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the degree of Ph. B. in 1893. From the fall of 1891 until the early part of 1895 Dr. Veditz studied in Germany, principally at the universities of Berlin, Leipzig and Halle, graduating from the latter in March, 1895, having specialized in economics and sociology. From the middle of 1895 until the end of 1899 he continued his studies in France, principally at the Paris Law School, the School of Anthropology, the Sorbonne and the College of Social Sciences. In 1900 he studied and traveled in Italy, returning to America the beginning of 1901, and in April was appointed Honorary Fellow in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Veditz is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has been a frequent contributor to French, German and American newspapers and has written:

“*Thünen's Wertlehre verglichen mit den Wertlehren einiger neuerer Autoren.*” Halle, a. S., 1896.

“*New Academic Degrees at Paris.*” ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1896.

“*Revue des Périodiques*” in the Paris *Revue internationale de Sociologie*, 1896.

“*Sociological Instruction at Paris.*” American Journal of Sociology, 1897.

Cogswell Polytechnic College, San Francisco.—Mr. Barton Cruikshank has been elected President of Cogswell Polytechnic College. Mr. Cogswell was born February 5, 1866, at Albany, N. Y., and received his early education in the Brooklyn public schools and at Adelphi Academy and Adelphi College, in Brooklyn, also at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. He received the degree of M. S. at Francis Xavier College, New York, 1899, and since 1886 has been connected with a number of manufacturing concerns as engineer. He was Instructor in Graphics, Kinematics and Valve Gearing at Princeton University in 1891-92, and was head of the Department of Graphics and Metal Work of the Manual Training High School of

Brooklyn from 1893 to 1897. From 1897 to 1901 he was President of Clarkson School of Technology, Potsdam, N. Y. Mr. Cruikshank is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, American Forestry Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the American Association for the Advancement of Engineering Education, and the International Association for Testing Materials. He has published an article in the *Engineering Magazine* for July on "Repetitive Parts Manufacture," and he is the author of other articles in the *American Machinist*, and in the publications of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

Cornell University.—In the reorganization of the Department of Political Economy, Sociology and Political Science at Cornell University, Professor J. W. Jenks, the head of the department, takes the Chair of Political Economy and Politics in the place of that of Political Economy and Civil and Social Institutions. A personal and biographical note of Professor Jenks and his work will be found in the *ANNALS* for July, 1891.¹ Since that time the record of Professor Jenks' activity comprises the following interesting facts:

The academic year, 1892-93, was spent by Professor Jenks in Europe making a special study of practical political methods followed in the leading European states, especially with reference to the methods of legislation. This time was spent mostly in the capitals, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin and Berne, and the work was done in connection with the officers of the government rather than in connection with the universities. Professor Jenks has also served (1895-97) as secretary of the American Economic Association, and for several years was secretary and then chairman of the Committee on Finance of the American Social Science Association.

In February, 1899, he was appointed Expert Agent of the United States Industrial Commission and was put in charge of their investigation of Industrial Combinations. In that position he has had under the general direction of the Commission the task of selecting the witnesses to be heard, of questioning the same, of editing their testimony and of making special studies on the general subject. In the summer of 1900, in connection with that work, he visited Europe and investigated the conditions regarding Industrial Combinations in England, France, Germany and Austria.

He was, in August of this year, appointed Special Commissioner of the War Department to investigate economic conditions in the Orient, particularly the currency systems and conditions regarding labor, internal taxation and police in Burmah, the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, and Java, and to report to the Secretary

¹ Vol. ii, p. 105.

of War and to the Philippine Commission on these questions. He is to spend his sabbatical year in this investigation. The result of this work on Industrial Combinations in Europe is now in press and will be published immediately by the Commission.

The following is a list of Professor Jenks' more important publications since 1891:

- “University Extension in Indiana.” Book News, May, 1891.
“Land Transfer Reform.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1891.
“Trade Unions and Wages.” Journal of Social Science, October, 1891; also reprinted with additions in the Inlander, 1891.
“A Word to Trade Unions.” Charities Review, December, 1891.
“The Trusts in the United States.” Economic Journal (English), March, 1892; rewritten with additions from the *Jahrbücher für National-Ökonomie und Statistik*, January, 1891, where it appeared under the title “Die ‘Trusts’ in den Ver. Staaten von Amerika.”
“School Book Legislation.” Political Science Quarterly, 1891.
“Practical Economic Questions.” Syllabus of Lectures, 1892.
“Critique of Educational Values.” Educational Review, January, 1892.
“Railway Profit Sharing.” Charities Review, May, 1892.
“The Peace Movement in Europe.” Christian Union, October 8, 1892.
“Money and Practical Politics.” Century Magazine, October, 1892.
“Economic Legislation.” Syllabus, 1893.
“The Moral Bearing of Good Roads.” Congregationalist, June 22, 1893.
“Electoral Corruption: Its Cause and Cure.” Cornell Magazine, 1894.
“Present Aspect of the Silver Problem.” Journal of Social Science, 1894.
“A Greek Prime Minister, Charilaos Tricoupis.” Atlantic Monthly, March, 1894.
“The Suppression of Bribery in England.” Century Magazine, March, 1894.
“Practical Politics.” Public Opinion, March 7, 1895.
“Capitalistic Monopolies and their Relation to the State.” Political Science Quarterly, September, 1894.
“Political Methods.” Syllabus of Lectures, 1894.
“The Guidance of Public Opinion.” American Journal of Sociology, September, 1895.
“The Social Basis of Proportional Representation.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1895.

"*Bill to Establish a System of Proportional Representation in Cities.*" The Proportional Representation Review, December, 1895.

Editor "*Handbook of the American Economic Association,*" (1895, 1896, 1897,) with reports of the annual meetings. Publications of the American Economic Association.

"*Political Party Machinery in the United States.*" Chautauquan, 1896.

"*Training for Citizenship.*" National Herbart Society, 1896.

"*Political Questions,*" Syllabus of Lectures, 1897.

"*Causes of the Fall in Prices Since 1872.*" Bankers' Magazine, October, 1897. The same revised, the Journal of Social Science, December, 1897.

"*Society as an Organism.*" Discussion, Journal of Social Science, December, 1898.

"*Recent Legislation and Adjudication on Trusts.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, July, 1898.

"*France,*" two articles in the Chicago Record's "*Governments of the World of To-day,*" February 8 and 15, 1899.

"*Necessity of Teaching the Duties of Citizenship in the Public Schools.*" Regents' Bulletin, May, 1899.

"*Trusts and Industrial Combinations,*" a Statistical Study. Bulletin of the Department of Labor, July, 1900. Government Printing Office, Washington.

"*The Trusts, Facts Established and Problems Unsolved.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, 1900.

"*Essays in Colonial Finance.*" Publications of the American Economic Association, August, 1900, chairman of editorial committee and author of essays on English Colonies in the Far East. Articles in Johnson's Encyclopedia: especially Ballot Reform, Caucus, Political Science, Monopolies; articles in Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy: especially Homestead and Exemption Laws in the United States, Local Government in the United States, Trusts in the United States.

"*The Trust Problem,*" July, 1900. McClure, Phillips & Company. Pp. xix, 281. 12mo.

Editor *Preliminary Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. I,* and author of the chapter on the "*Effects of Combinations on Prices,*" large oct., 264,—1,325; editor of *Report of Industrial Commission, Vol. II, large oct.* Pp. 291; Part I, "*Statutes and Decisions of Federal States and Territorial Law on Trusts and Industrial Combinations,*" editor; (Final Report on Trusts—editor and author of

chapter on "*Capitalization and Securities of Industrial Combinations*"—in press); (Report of Industrial Commission "*Industrial Combinations in Europe*," author and editor—in press).

An "*Act for the Incorporation and Regulation of Business Companies*" (Bill prepared for the New York Senate, Albany, 1900).

"*Elements of the Trust Problem*," (Chicago Conference on Trusts, 1900).

"*Publicity a Remedy for the Evils of Trusts*." Review of Reviews, April, 1900.

"*Professor Moses Coit Tyler*, a biographical sketch, the Michigan Alumnus, March, 1901.

"*How Trusts Affect Prices*." North American Review, June, 1901.

"*Social Effects of the Consolidation of Wealth*." Address before the Congress of Religions, June, 1901. Published in Unity, July 18, 1901.

Professor Walter F. Willcox, upon his return to his academic duties at Cornell, in September, 1901, will take the Chair of Political Economy and Statistics. A notice of his former appointment in Cornell University appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1899,¹ at which time he entered upon the duties of Chief Statistician in charge of the Division of Methods and Results in the Census Office at Washington. He received a leave of absence to enable him to carry on this work, but now returns to his academic duties, retaining his connection with the Census Office. Since September, 1899, Professor Willcox has published the following papers and monographs:

"*Memorandum on Efforts to Determine the Area and Population of the Philippine Islands*." American Statistical Association. New Series, No. 47, September, 1899. Pp. 34. Vol. 6, p. 346.

"*Address, Race Problems of the South*." Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference held under the auspices of the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South, at Montgomery, Alabama, May 8, 9, 10, 1900.

"*A Difficulty with American Census-Taking*." Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XIV. August, 1900.

"*The Census of New York City*." New York Evening Post, August 24, 1900.

"*American Census Methods*." The Forum, September, 1900.

"*War Department, Report of the Census of Cuba, 1899*." Washington, 1900. (Statistical Expert and Joint Author.)

"*War Department, Report of the Census of Porto Rico, 1899*." Washington, 1900. (Statistical Expert and Joint Author.)

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 221.

"*Negro Criminality.*" An address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, September 6, 1899.

Professor Frank A. Fetter has been appointed to the newly established Chair of Political Economy and Finance. Professor Fetter goes to Cornell from Leland Stanford Jr. University, where he held the Chair of Economics from 1898 to 1900, serving as acting professor in the first year, a notice of which appointment, together with a biographical sketch of Professor Fetter, appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1898.¹ The appointment was made permanent in 1899, and in May of 1900 Professor Fetter was granted a leave of absence for a year, which he has spent in travel and study. He served as Professor of Economics at Cornell University in the Summer School of 1901, and will begin his duties as Professor of Economics and Finance in September of this year.

Among his recent publications are the following:

"*The Essay of Malthus.*" a Centennial Review. *Yale Review* 7: 153 (August, 1898).

"*Politics in the Charitable Institutions of the Pacific Coast.*" Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities for 1899.

"*Social Progress and Race Degeneration.*" *Forum* 28: 228 (October, 1899).

"*Recent Discussion of the Capital Concept.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 15: I (November, 1900).

"*The Next Decade of Economic Theory.*" Publications of the American Economic Association. New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 236 (January, 1901).

"*The Passing of the Old Rent Concept.*" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 15 (May, 1901).

"*Public Subsidies to Private Charities.*" Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections for 1901.

"*An American Economist*" (J. B. Clark). *International Monthly*, July, 1901.

"*The Maps, Diagrams, Data, and Statistical Tables on Housing Conditions*" (circa 100 pp.), embodied in the report of the City Homes Association on "Tenement Conditions in Chicago." R. R. Donnelly & Sons Company. Chicago, 1901.

Professor Charles H. Hull, who has, since the last personal note relating to him was published in the *ANNALS* in May, 1893,² continued in his work as Assistant Professor of Political Economy at that institution, was recently offered the option of a promotion to full professorship of Political Economy, or to the professorship of Ameri-

¹ Vol. xii, p. 260.

² Vol. iii, p. 810.

can History. He has chosen the latter alternative and will begin his work as Professor of American History at Cornell in September of this year. Since the last note was published, Dr. Hull has prepared an edition of the *Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, which was printed by the University Press in Cambridge in 1899.

Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.—Dr. James E. Pilcher has been recently elected Professor of Sociology and Economics at Dickinson College. He also holds the Chair of Medical Jurisprudence in the Dickinson School of Law and is Professor Emeritus of Military Surgery at the Ohio Medical University. Dr. Pilcher was born March 18, 1857, at Adrian, Mich. He studied at the Detroit High School and graduated from Michigan University with the degree of B. A. in 1879. He received the degree of M. A. and Ph. D. from the Illinois Wesleyan University in 1887, and the degree of M. D. from the Long Island College Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1880. He was appointed lecturer on Military Hygiene at Starling Medical College in 1896, and was Professor of Military Surgery at the Ohio Medical University in 1896-97, and held the same chair at Creighton Medical College in 1897-98, and the Chair of Anatomy and Embryology at Dickinson College in 1899-1900. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Medicine and a member of a number of medical associations, being a life member and Secretary and Editor of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States. He is also a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the American Medical Association. He has served in the United States Army Medical Department, ranking as Lieutenant in 1883, Captain in 1888, Major in 1898, and retired in 1900. He has also been a member of the editorial staff of several professional periodicals from 1881 to 1901. Some of the more important of his publications are as follows:

"*First Aid in Illness and Injury*," 8vo, pp. 322. English edition. London, 1892.

American editions, New York, 1892, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1899.

"*Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher*." Royal 8vo, pp. 142. New York, 1893.

"*Columbus Book of the Military Surgeons*." 8vo, pp. 100. Columbus, 1897.

"*Transportation of the Disabled*." Reference Handbook of the Medical Sciences. Same subject in Supplement to the same.

"*The Uniform of the West Point Cadet*." Journal Military Serv. Inst. 8vo., pp. 16.

"*Transportation of the Disabled*." Journal Military Serv. Inst. 8vo, pp. 28.

"*A New Field of Honor*." Scribner's Magazine, pp. 16.

"*The Methods of Instruction in First Aid.*" Trans. Association Military Surg. 8vo, pp. 20.

"*The Building of the Soldier.*" United Service Magazine. Royal 8vo, pp. 20.

"*Place of Physical Training in Military Service.*" 8vo, pp. 12.

"*Chauliac and Mondeville.*" Annals of Surgery. 8vo, pp. 24.

"*Some Sixteenth Century Surgery.*" Annals of Surgery. 8vo, pp. 36.

Harvard University.—Mr. William Garrott Brown has been appointed lecturer on American History Since the Civil War.

Mr. Brown was born in Marion, Ala., April 24, 1868. He was prepared for college at the private schools of Marion and Selma, Ala., entering Howard College, at Marion, in 1883, and taking his A. B. degree in 1886 with first honor. He took the A. B. degree at Harvard College in 1891, with highest honors in History, and has been a student in the Harvard Graduate School from 1891 to 1893, taking his A. M. degree in 1892. From 1892 to 1896 Mr. Brown has been Assistant in the Harvard Library in charge of the archives and has been Deputy Keeper of the University Records of Harvard from 1896 to 1901.

Among Mr. Brown's recent publications are articles for the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Youth's Companion* and also for the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. He has edited the "Official Guide to Harvard University," and has published a "Life of Andrew Jackson" (Riverside Biographical Series) and a "History of Alabama" (University Publishing Company, New York). In his studies Mr. Brown has specialized in American politics and in Southern political history.

Howard University, Washington, D. C.—Mr. Kelly Miller has been recently appointed Instructor in Sociology in addition to the professorship in mathematics which he has held in this institution since 1890.

Mr. Kelly Miller was born July 23, 1863, in Fairfield County, South Carolina. His early education was received in the local county schools and at the private academy, after which he entered Howard University at Washington, taking the degree of A.B. in 1886. He pursued graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University in 1888 and 1889, and became teacher of mathematics in the Washington High School in 1889. He was appointed Professor of Mathematics in Howard University in 1890, which position he still holds. Professor Miller has given considerable study to the principles of theoretical sociology, and especially to the negro question, having specialized on the subject of negro education. He is the First Vice-President of the Ameri-

can Negro Academy, and President of the Graduate Club composed of colored college graduates. He is also a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, of the National Educational Association, and of the Walt Whitman International Fellowship. Among Professor Miller's recent publications are the following:

- "*Primary Needs of the Negro Race.*" 18 pp.
- "*The Function of the Higher Education.*" 12 pp.
- "*The Educational Value of Geometry.*" Proceedings of N. E. A., 1898.
- "*A Sensible Political Policy for the Negro.*" Outlook, December, 1898.
- "*The Political Status of a Backward Race.*" Liberia, 1899.
- "*Lynching and Its Remedy.*" Hampton Workman, 1899.
- "*The Modern Land of Goshen.*" Hampton Workman, 1899.
- "*The Effect of Imperialism Upon the Negro Race.*" Broadside No. 11, 1900.
- "*Education and the Negro.*" Forum, 1901.
- "*Euclid and His Modern Rivals.*" Education, 1901.

Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.—Mr. C. E. Goodell¹ was appointed in the fall of 1900 Professor of History and Economics in the Kansas State Agricultural College. He had previously held for two years a fellowship in Political Science in Chicago University. He has in preparation for press a "History of the City Government of Indianapolis."

Lincoln College, Lincoln, Ill.—Rev. Dr. James L. Goodknight has been elected President of Lincoln College at Lincoln, he having been President of Lincoln University during the past academic year. Lincoln University has now become the James Millikin University of Lincoln, and has another branch at Decatur, Ill., known as the Decatur College and Industrial School. Dr. Goodknight was born August 24, 1846, in Allen County, Kentucky. He received his early education at the country schools and at a private academy and school. He graduated from Cumberland University with the degree of A. B. in 1871, and took the degree of B. D. from the Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1879. He has also the degree of A. M., received from the Cumberland University in 1897, and the degree of D. D. from Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania, in 1891. He has pursued graduate studies at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland and at Jena in Germany. Dr. Goodknight was President of the West Virginia University from 1895 to 1897, since which time he has been connected with Lincoln University. He has been a frequent contributor to newspapers, periodicals and school journals.

¹ See ANNALS, vol. v, p. 589, January, 1895.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.—Professor William Z. Ripley¹ has been advanced to the position of Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is for the present year on leave of absence serving as Expert Agent for the United States Industrial Commission. Among his recent publications on economic topics may be noted the "Capitalization of Public Service Corporations," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November, 1900. Professor Ripley is preparing for the American Citizen Series, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Company, edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, a volume on Railway Economics, which will attempt to outline the more recent developments since the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act, and will be confined to the experience of the United States.

University of Minnesota.—Dr. William A. Schaper has been appointed Instructor in Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Schaper was born April 17, 1869, at La Crosse, Wis., and was educated in the public schools of that place and at the State Normal School at River Falls, Wis., where he was in attendance from 1886 to 1891. From 1893 to 1895 he was a student at the University of Wisconsin, taking the degree of B. L. in 1895, and continuing in graduate work at Wisconsin in 1895-96; at Columbia 1896-98, when he took his M. A. degree and then went abroad, spending the year 1900-01 at Berlin, and returning to take his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Columbia in 1901.

Dr. Schaper has been teacher of History and Economics at the Dubuque High School, at Dubuque, Ia., and was connected with the United States Census Office during the summer vacation of 1901, working in the Population Division. While at Columbia, Dr. Schaper held a scholarship in Economics in 1896, and a fellowship in Sociology in 1898. He was appointed Instructor in the University of Minnesota in 1900, with leave of absence, however, for the academic year 1900-01, for the purpose of spending this time in study abroad. He will enter on his duties at the University of Minnesota in September of this year. Among his recent publications is the following: "*A Paper on Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*;" a sociological study, which makes from 250 to 300 pages in print, and will appear in the Proceedings of the American Historical Association for 1900. This essay was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize, given for the best monograph in American History, based on original research. The prize was awarded by a Committee of the American Historical Association at its last meeting in Detroit.

¹See *ANNALS*, vol. xvi, p. 279, September, 1900.

University of Missouri, Columbia,—Dr. Isidor Loeb has been advanced from the position of Assistant Professor of History to that of Professor of History at the University of Missouri. A biographical note relating to Professor Loeb appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1896.¹ Since that time it is interesting to note that Professor Loeb received a leave of absence in September, 1900, spending the year in study in Europe, part of the time in attendance at the University of Berlin. In February, 1901, he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, and in April, 1901, his title at the University of Missouri was changed to that of Professor of History and Administration. He has published recently "*The German Colonial Fiscal System*," publications of the American Economic Association, Third Series, Volume I, No. 3, August, 1900; and "*The Legal Property Relations of Married Parties*," a study in comparative legislation, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, New York, 1900.

Dr. Charles A. Ellwood was appointed Professor of Sociology in April, 1900, the Chair having been established largely through the influence of the Missouri State Board of Charities, and the work of the Department was considered very successful during the first year. Dr. Ellwood was born near Ogdensburg, N. Y., January 20, 1873. He studied at the Ogdensburg Free Academy from 1888 to 1892, and at Cornell University from 1892 to 1896, taking the degree of Ph. B. at Cornell in 1896. He was a graduate student at the University of Chicago during 1896-97 and at Berlin 1897-98, and was Fellow in Sociology at the University of Chicago during 1898-99, taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (*magna cum laude*) at the University of Chicago in 1899. He was appointed General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Lincoln, Neb., and at the same time an Instructor in Sociology at the University of Nebraska, from which place he went to Missouri University. Dr. Ellwood is a member of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Secretary of the Missouri Conference of Charities and Correction, and a member of the Western Philosophical Association. Dr. Ellwood's thesis for his Doctor's degree was entitled: "*Some Prolegomena to Social Psychology*," and was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1901. It appeared separately in a series of four articles in the American Journal of Sociology for March, May, July and September, 1899. The titles of these articles are: (1) The Need of the Study of Social Psychology; (2) The Fundamental Fact in Social Psychology; (3) The Nature and Task of Social Psychology; and (4) Concept of

¹ Vol. viii, p. 361.

the Social Mind. He is also the author of an article on the " *Theory of Initiation in Social Psychology* " in the American Journal of Sociology, May, 1901.

University of Nebraska.—Professor Edward A. Ross, who held the Chair of Economic Theory and Finance at Leland Stanford Jr. University from 1893 to 1897, and the Chair of Sociology at the same institution from 1897 to 1900, has been appointed Professor of Sociology at the University of Nebraska. He was Lecturer in Sociology in the same institution from February to June, 1901, and will assume his duties as Professor in September of this year. A personal note relating to Professor Ross will be found in the ANNALS for May, 1893,¹ since which time he has published the following papers and books:

- " *The Tendencies of Natural Values.*" Yale Review, August, 1893.
- " *The Total Utility Standard of Deferred Payments.*" ANNALS, November, 1893.
- " *The Unseen Foundations of Society.*" Political Science Quarterly, December, 1893.
- " *The Location of Industries.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, April, 1896.
- " *Uncertainty as a Factor in Production.*" ANNALS, September, 1896.
- " *Honest Dollars.*" Chicago, 1896. 64 pages.
- " *Our Financial Policy.*" Review of Reviews, January, 1897.
- " *The Roots of Discontent.*" The Independent, January 28 and February 4, 1897.
- " *The Mob Mind.*" Popular Science Monthly, July, 1897.
- " *The Educational Function of the Church.*" Outlook, August, 1897.
- " *The Sociological Frontier of Economics.*" Quarterly Journal of Economics, July, 1899.
- " *England as an Ally.*" Arena, July, 1900.
- " *The Causes of Race Superiority.*" ANNALS, July, 1901.
- " *Social Control.*" Twenty Articles, American Journal of Sociology, March, 1896—March, 1898; January, 1900—January, 1901.
- " *Social Control.*" 463 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901.

Mr. Comadore E. Prevey has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Nebraska.

Mr. Prevey was born December 30, 1871, at Elroy, Wis. He graduated from the public high school of that place in 1888, and studied at the University of Wisconsin 1891 to 1895, taking the degree of

¹ Vol. iii, p. 810.

B. L. at that time. He was a graduate student at Yale in 1897-98, and at Columbia 1898-1900, taking the degree of A. M. at Columbia in 1900. Mr. Prevey has held the position of General Secretary of the Associated Charities at Ft. Wayne, Ind., and was a member of the Tenth District Committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York City from 1898 to 1900. He was Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Nebraska in 1900-01 and became General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Lincoln, Neb., at the same time. Among Mr. Prevey's recent publications may be noted:

"*Comparative Statistics of Railroad Service Under Different Kinds of Control.*" Quarterly publications of the American Statistical Association, September, 1898.

"*Economic Aspects of Charity Organization.*" ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July, 1899.

New Jersey State Charities Aid Association.—Dr. William H. Allen who held the position of Instructor in Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania, has recently been elected Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey. Dr. Allen's active interest and participation in practical efforts at social reform will here find a large field for work. He has already identified himself, as a member of the Summer School for Philanthropic Work in New York City, with the best educational work along the lines of modern philanthropy.

A personal note relating to Dr. Allen appeared in the ANNALS for September, 1900,¹ since which time he has written "The Election of 1900."² ANNALS, November, 1900.

He continues as one of the editors of the Department of Municipal Notes in the ANNALS, in which work he has shown a wide range of sympathies and good critical judgment.

University of North Carolina.—Mr. Charles Lee Raper³ has recently been appointed Associate Professor of Economic History in the University of North Carolina.

Northwestern University.—Mr. John E. George, formerly Instructor in Economics, has been made Assistant Professor of Economics in Northwestern University. A personal note relating to Mr. George appeared in the ANNALS for January, 1901,⁴ since which time he has published an article in the May number of the Quarterly Journal of Economics on "The Chicago Building Trades Conflict of 1900."

¹ Vol. xvi, p. 282.

² This study was outlined and prepared with the assistance of the Senior Arts Class in Practical Politics, in the University of Pennsylvania.

³ See ANNALS, vol. xvi, p. 446, November, 1900.

⁴ Vol. xvii, p. 107.

Ohio State University.—Dr. James E. Hagerty has been appointed Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Dr. Hagerty was born at La Porte, Ind., and received his early education in the public schools of that place, graduating finally from the Northern Indiana Normal School. He entered Indiana University in 1888, graduating in 1892 with the A. B. degree, and then taught mathematics in the La Porte High School for four years. He entered upon graduate work at the University of Chicago in 1896-97, and was subsequently appointed Honorary Fellow at the University of Wisconsin for the year 1897-98. He then went abroad and spent the year 1898-99 in study at Berlin and Halle, and was subsequently appointed Harrison Fellow in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 1900, and was appointed Senior Fellow for the year 1900-01.

Dr. Hagerty has in preparation for press a volume on the "*Social Aspects of the Distribution of Economic Goods.*"

South Dakota Agricultural College.—Mr. Albert Spencer Harding, formerly Assistant in History and Economics in the South Dakota Agricultural College, has been advanced to the position of Professor of History and Civics.

Professor Harding was born November 30, 1867, at Janesville, Rock County, Wis. He received his early education in the public schools of Janesville, and in 1889 entered the South Dakota College, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science, in 1892. His M. A. degree was taken at the University of Nebraska in 1897, where he studied from 1892 to 1894, and again from 1895 to 1897, holding the fellowship in American History in the University of Nebraska in the academic year 1896-97. He was also a student in the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in 1898.

Syracuse University.—Mr. Delmer E. Hawkins has been advanced from the position of Instructor in Political Economy to that of Associate Professor at Syracuse University. Mr. Hawkins was born June 11, 1868, at Mooers, N. Y., and received his early education at Mooers High School and at Cazenovia Seminary, at Cazenovia, N. Y. He entered Syracuse University in 1890, taking the degree of A. B. in 1894, A. M. in 1896, and LL. B. in 1898. He was a student at the summer school held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1894 and he also studied at Columbia from 1898 to 1900. He held the position of Instructor in Political Economy at Syracuse University from 1894 to 1896, and again in 1900-01.

University of Utah.—Professor G. Coray has been appointed Professor of Economics and Sociology. A biographical note relating to Professor Coray was published in the *ANNALS* for September, 1895,¹ since which time he has engaged extensively in public lecturing and has read a paper before the State Historical Society.

Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.—Professor Eliot Whipple has been appointed Professor of History, Civics and Economics. A personal note relating to Professor Whipple appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1894,² since which time he has published a series of articles on Secret Societies and Civil Government, appearing in the monthly issues from June to September, 1896, of a periodical entitled *Christian Cynosure*, published in Chicago.

University of Wisconsin.—Professor B. H. Meyer, of the University of Wisconsin, has recently been appointed Professor of Institutes of Commerce at that institution. This change has come about through some reorganization of the work of the department, and in future Professor Meyer will specialize in the subjects of Commerce and Transportation rather than in Sociology and Transportation as in the past. A biographical notice of Professor Meyer, with some account of his work, was published in the *ANNALS* for November, 1899.³ Since that time he has written the following articles and monographs:

“*Railway Charters.*” Proceedings American Economic Association, December 27-29, 1899.

“*Railway Charters.*” Railroad Gazette, January 5, 1900.

“*The Problem of the Small Town.*” Modern Culture, June, 1900.

“*Four Synthesists: Cross Sections from Comte, Lilienceld, Schaeffle and Spencer.*” American Journal of Sociology, July, 1900.

“*Fraternal Beneficiary Societies in the United States.*” American Journal of Sociology, March, 1901.

“*Fraternal Insurance in the United States.*” *ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1901.

“*Fraternal Societies and the Saloon.*” A contribution to a volume on “*Substitutes for the Saloon,*” by Raymond Calkins.

“*Railway Regulation Under Domestic and Foreign Laws.*” A Report to the United States Industrial Commission. (In press.)

Professor Paul S. Reinsch, formerly Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, has been made Professor of the same subject. A notice of Professor Reinsch and his work

¹ Vol. vi, p. 298.

² Vol. v, p. 282.

³ Vol. xvi, p. 353.

appeared in the *ANNALS* for November, 1899,¹ since which time his chief written work has been as follows:

“*World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century.*” New York: Macmillan, 1900.

“*China Against the World.*” The Forum, September, 1900.

“*The Meeting of Orient and Occident.*” Modern Culture, September, 1900.

“*Cultural Factors in the Chinese Crisis.*” *ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1900.

“*Friedrich Nietzsche.*” Modern Culture, November, 1900.

“*The Political Spirit of the Last Half Century.*” *Conservative Review*, December, 1900.

“*Political Changes of a Century.*” The World’s Work, December, 1900.

“*The New Industrial Conquest of the World.*” The World’s Work, February, 1901.

“*French Experience with Representative Government in the West Indies.*” *American Historical Review*, April, 1901.

“*Governing the Orient on Western Principles.*” The Forum, June, 1901.

“*The Policy of Assimilation.*” Modern Culture, July, 1901.

Mr. Allyn Abbott Young has been appointed Assistant in Economics in the University of Wisconsin. He was born September 19, 1876, at Kenton, O., and received his early education at public and private schools in Sioux Falls, S. D. In 1891 he entered Hiram College receiving the degree of Ph. B. in 1894. During the next four years he was engaged in journalism, and in 1898 entered the University of Wisconsin. During 1899-1900 he was engaged in work in connection with the United States Census Office in the Division of Methods and Results. Mr. Young is a member of the American Economic Association and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has written:

“*The Comparative Accuracy of Different Forms of Quinquennial Age Groups.*” *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, March, June, 1900.

“*The Enumeration of Children.*” *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1901.

Yale University.—Mr. John Pease Norton has been appointed Assistant in Political Economy in Yale College, and will offer courses next year on Trade Statistics and on the Statistical Theory of the

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 354.

Evolution of Man. He has specialized along the lines of Mathematical and Statistical Economics and of Sociology.

Mr. Norton was born in Suffield, Conn., July 28, 1877, and received his early education in the West Middle District School of Hartford. He also studied three years at the Hartford High School, and later at the Los Angeles High School. He graduated from Yale University in 1899, receiving the B. A. degree and delivering the valedictory address. He took his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Yale in 1901, the subject of his thesis being "*Contribution to the Theory of Money and Credit*," with some statistical investigation of the weekly statements of the New York Associated Banks covering twenty-two years.

Dr. Norton is a member of the American Economic Association and of the Political and Social Science Club of Yale.

Mr. Edson Newton Tuckey has been appointed Instructor in Political Science in Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.

Mr. Tuckey was born at Belle Plain, Minn., February 7, 1870. He was educated in the public schools of Eden Prairie and Mankato, and also in the Preparatory and College Departments of Hamline University, in which institution he was matriculated from 1886 to 1893, taking his B. A. degree in 1893. He was a graduate student in the University of Minnesota from 1895 to 1898, during which time he taught in the Minneapolis schools. He has received the degree of M. S. from the University of Minnesota, and in the years 1899 and 1900 spent fourteen months abroad studying at the London School of Economics and at the University of Berlin. He has been a graduate student at Yale University in the academic year 1900-01. Mr. Tuckey was also Principal of the Richfield (Minn.) graded schools from 1893 to 1895, and Principal of the Graceville (Minn.) High School, and Superintendent of Grades in 1898-99. He has specialized in the study of Public Service Monopolies.

IN ACCORDANCE with our custom we give below a list of the students in political and social science and allied subjects on whom the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred at the close of or during the last academic year.¹

Adrian College.—Haughton Kost Fox, A. M. Thesis: *The Place of Irving in American Literature*.

¹ See *ANNALS*, vol. i, p. 293, for academic year, 1889-90; vol. ii, p. 253 for 1890-91; vol. iii, p. 241, for 1891-92; vol. iv, p. 312 and p. 466 for 1892-93; vol. v, p. 282 and p. 419, for 1893-94; vol. vi, p. 300 and p. 482, for 1894-95; vol. viii, p. 364, for 1895-96; vol. x, p. 256, for 1896-97; vol. xii, p. 262 and p. 411, for 1898-99; vol. xiv, p. 227, for 1899-1900; vol. xvi, p. 283, for 1900-01.

University of Chicago.—Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, S. B., Ph. M. Thesis: *Legal Tender: A Study in English and American Monetary History.*

Charles Joseph Bushnell, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Development of the Corporation in England in Relation to the Sentiment of Antagonism.*

Frank George Franklin, L. B. Thesis: *Naturalization in the United States, with Especial Reference to its Legislative History from the Declaration of Independence to the Civil War.*

John Morris Gillette, A. M. Thesis: *The Culture Agencies of a Typical Manufacturing Group, South Chicago.*

Norman Dwight Harris, Ph. B. Thesis: *The History of Negro Servitude and the Slavery Agitation in Illinois.*

Robert Samuel Padan, A. B. Thesis: *Studies in Interest.*

John Olaf Sethre, A. M. Thesis: *The Political History of Minnesota Prior to her Admission into the Union.*

Edwin Erle Sparks, A. M. Thesis: *The Cumberland National Road as a Union-Making Factor.*

Columbia University.—Alfred Lewis Pinneo Dennis, A. B. Thesis: *Eastern Problems at the Close of the Eighteenth Century.*

Alexander Clarence Flick, A. B. Thesis: *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution.*

Arthur Cleveland Hall, A. B. Thesis: *Civilization and Crime.*

Isidor Loeb, A. B. Thesis: *The Legal Property Relations of Married Persons.*

William August Schaper, B. L. Thesis: *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina.*

Louis Don Scisco, B. S. Thesis: *Political Nativism in New York State.*

Allan Herbert Willett, A. B. Thesis: *Economic Theory of Risk and Insurance.*

Edwin Campbell Woolley, A. B. Thesis: *The Reconstruction of Georgia.*

Columbian University.—William Hamilton, A. M. Thesis: *The Expansion of Russia to the Eastward.*

Chohei Shirasu, A. M. Thesis: *The Commerce of Japan and Its Relation to Civilization.*

Cornell University.—Nathan Austin Weston, M. L. Thesis: *A History of the Land System of the State of New York, with Especial Reference to Financial Administration.*

Georgia Laura White, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Part taken by Women in the Charity Work in Prussia.*

Harvard University.—Don Carlos Barrett. Thesis: *The Origin and Supposed Necessity of the United States Notes.*

Henry Camp Marshall. Thesis: *The Currency and the Movement of Prices in the United States from 1860 to 1880.*

Jonas Viles. Thesis: *The Privy Council of Elizabeth.*

Arthur Herbert Wilde. Thesis: *The Administration of the Schools of Gaul from the Fourth Century to the Reforms of Charlemagne.*

Heidelberg University.—Charles S. Haight, A. M., B. L. L. Thesis: *Benedict Arnold—The Man.*

Johns Hopkins University.—William Elejus Martin, A. M. Thesis: *Internal Improvements in Alabama.*

University of Minnesota.—Adolph O. Eliason, A. M. Thesis: *History of Banking.*

Elias Rachie, A. M. Thesis: *Taxation of Quasi-Public Corporations in Minnesota.*

University of Pennsylvania.—Caroline Colvin, A. B. Thesis: *The Invasion of Bruce; and Its Place in Irish History.*

John Paul Goode, B. S. Thesis: *The Influence of Physiographic Factors upon the Occupations and the Economic Development of the United States.*

Henry John Harris, A. B. Thesis: *The Problem of the Small Industrial Producer in Germany.*

Lolabel House, A. M. Thesis: *The Twelfth Amendment.*

William Ezra Lingelbach, A. B. Thesis: *The Organization and Government of the Merchant's Adventurers.*

Roswell Cheney McCrea, A. M. Thesis: *Taxation of Transportation Corporations.*

University of Wisconsin.—Louise Phelps Kellogg, B. L. Thesis: *The Colonial Charter: A Study in English Colonial Administration.*

Charles McCarthy, Ph. B. Thesis: *The Anti-Masonic Party.*

Yale University.—Ernest H. Baldwin, A. M. Thesis: *Joseph Galoway—A Biography.*

Silas W. Geis, L. L. B. Thesis: *The Colonial Agent in New England.*

Mary C. Hewitt, A. B. Thesis: *The Political Philosophy of the American Revolution.*

Jessie M. Law, A. B. Thesis: *Cromwell's Major-Generals.*

Eugene I. McCormac, B. S. Thesis: *White Servitude in Maryland.*

John P. Norton, A. B. Thesis: *Contribution to the Theory of Money and Credit, with Some Statistical Investigation of the Weekly*

Statements of the New York Associated Banks, Covering Twenty-two Years.

Alexander Pratt, Jr., A. B. Thesis: *Doctrine of Social Resistance.*

Peter Roberts, B. D. Thesis: *An Economic Study of the Anthracite Coal Fields of Northeast Pennsylvania.*

Clifford J. Thorn, LL. B., A. M. Thesis: *Principle versus Precedent.*

FOR THE academic year 1901-02, appointments to fellowships and post-graduate scholarships have been made in the leading American colleges, as follows:

Amherst College.—*Roswell Dwight Hitchcock Fellowship in History and Social and Economic Science*, Preserved Smith, A. B.

Bryn Mawr College.—*Fellowship in History*, Lois Anna Fornham, A. M. *Scholarship in History*, Ruthella B. Mory, A. B. Ph. M.

University of Chicago.—*Fellowships, in History*, Mayo Fesler, Elmer Cummings Griffith, Edgar Holmes McNeal and David Yancey Thomas; *in Political Economy*, Stephen Butler Leacock, Svant Godfrey Lindholm, Walter Dudley Nash and Robert Samuel Padan; *in Political Science*, Burton L. French, Augustus Raymond Hatton and Francis Mitchell McClenehon; *in Sociology*, Romanzo Colfax Adams, Edward Casey Hayes, Victor Lathrop O'Brien, Thomas Jefferson Riley and Howard Brown Woolston.

Columbia University.—*George William Curtis Fellowship in History*, James W. Garner, B. S.; *Schiff Fellowship in History*, Ulrich B. Phillips, A. B.; *University Fellowships, in American History*, Walter L. Fleming, B. S.; *in Economics*, Henry R. Mussey, A. B.; *in Finance*, Royal Meeker, B. S.; *in History*, David Y. Thomas, A. B.; *in International Law*, Samuel B. Crandall, B. S.; *in Sociology*, James M. Williams, A. B.

Cornell University.—*Fellowships in Political Economy*, Judson George Rosebush, A. B. and Harrison Standish Smalley, A. B.; *President White Fellowship in Political and Social Science*, Joseph Alexander Tillinghast, B. S., A. M.

Harvard University.—*Edward Austin Fellowship in History*, Francis Samuel Philbrick, A. M.; *Parker Fellowship in History*, George Hubbard Blakeslee, A. M.; *Ozias Goodwin Memorial Fellowship in History and Government*, James Augustus George, A. B.; *Henry Lee Memorial Fellowship in Political Economy*, Robert Morris, A. M.; *Robert Treat Paine Fellowship in Political Economy*, Andrew Light Horst, A. B.; *South End House Fellowship in Social Science*, Roswell Foulk Phelps, A. B.; *Toppan Scholarship in*

Classics and Political Economy, David Taggart Clark, A. M.; *James Savage Scholarship in Ethics and Sociology*, William Henry Lough; *Austin Scholarship in History and Government*, Everett Kimball, A. M.; *Thayer Scholarship in History*, William Stearns Davis, A. B.; *Townsend Scholarship in History*, Walter Lichtenstein, A. B.; *University Scholarship in History*, Waldo Gifford Leland, A. B.; *Austin Scholarship in Political Economy*, Carroll Warren Doten, A. M.; *Ricardo Prize Scholarship in Political Economy*, Roland Greene Usher; *University Scholarship in Political Economy*, Leon Carroll Marshall.

Johns Hopkins University.—*Fellowships, in History*, James Warner Harry, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Charles Oscar Paullin, S. B.

University of Missouri.—*Fellowship in History and Administration*, Minnie Organ, A. M.

University of Nebraska.—*Fellowships, in European History*, Carl H. Meier; *in Political Economy and Sociology*, Harry T. Johnson.

Ohio State University.—*Emerson McMillin Fellow in Economics*, Frederick E. Butcher, Ph. B.

University of Pennsylvania.—*Harrison Fellowship in American History*, George D. Luetscher, B. L.; *Senior Fellowship in American History on the Harrison Foundation*, Claude Halstead Van Tyne, A. B., Ph. D.; *Harrison Fellowship in European History*, James Field Willard, B. S.; *Harrison Fellowship at Large in European History*, Charles L. Burroughs, A. B.; *Harrison Fellowship in Economics*, William Backus Guitteau, Ph. B.; *Senior Fellowship in Economics on the Harrison Foundation*, Roswell Cheney McCrea, A. M., Ph. D.; *Harrison Fellowship at Large in Sociology*, Carl Kelsey, A. B.; *Honorary Fellowship in Sociology*, Charles William Augustus Veditz, Ph. D., LL. B.; *Harrison Scholarships in Economics*, Lewis E. Coles, B. S., and Arthur D. Rees, B. S.

State University of Iowa.—*Fellowships, in History*, Frank H. Garver, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Kiyoshi Kawakami; *in Sociology*, George L. Cady, A. B., and Milton L. Kephart, A. B.

University of Wisconsin.—*University Fellows, in American History*, Orpha Euphemia Leavitt, A. B.; *in Economics*, Selden Fraser Smyser, Ph. B.; *in European History*, Laurence Marcellus Larson, A. B.; *in Political Science*, Edwin Maxey, Ph. B.; *Alumni Fellow in Political Science*, Lewis Albert Anderson, B. L.; *Honorary Fellow in Political Science*, Yasugo Sakagami, M. L.; *University Scholarships, in American History*, Robert Carlton Clark, A. B.; *in European His-*

tory, Florence Beatrice Mott, A. B.; *in Economics*, Max Otto Lorenz, A. B., and Thomas Warner Mitchell, A. B.

Yale University.—*Eldridge Fellowship in History and Economics*, R. K. Richardson, A. B.; *University Fellowships in History*, K. Asakawa, A. B.; John B. Kelso, A. B. and William S. Robertson M. L.; *Robinson Fellowship in Social Science and Economics*, E. N. Tuckey, A. B.; *University Scholarships in History*, G. G. Benjamin, Ph. B., J. B. Chamberlain A. B. and C. H. Walker, A. B.; *in Political and Social Science*, F. R. Fairchild, A. B.; *in Social Science*, James E. Cutler, A. B. and T. Takahashi, A. B.; *Clark Scholarship in History*, S. D. Powell, A. B.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

PROFESSOR FRANK W. BLACKMAR, of the University of Kansas, has made a contribution to the literature of the Free Soil-Slavery Contest under title, "Charles Robinson, the First Free-State Governor of Kansas." This biographical sketch appears in pamphlet form in the Twentieth Century Classics Series.¹

THE PUBLICATIONS of the Bureau of American Ethnology are the admiration of ethnologists and sociologists the world over, and students in these fields look forward with interest to the appearance of each report. In the latest issue² there are two papers on the Amerind of the southwest. In the first, Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff tells of the Navajo houses, rare examples of the most primitive types of domestic architecture. Mr. Mindeleff has the geographic point of view, and it is gratifying to find him giving specific examples of the way in which a geographic environment reacts upon the institutions of a people. To quote him: "As the architecture of a primitive people is influenced largely by the character of the country in which they live, a brief description of the Navajo country is deemed necessary. Similarly the habits of life of a people, what a naturalist would term their life history, which, in combination with their physical environment practically dictates their arts, is worthy of notice, for, without some knowledge of the conditions under which a people live, it is difficult if not impossible, to obtain an adequate conception of their art products." The treatment of his topic shows that his position is well taken.

The second and longer paper is a report on an "Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895," by Mr. Jesse Walter Fewkes. In this expedition, which was undertaken to collect material for the National Museum, Mr. Fewkes obtained over five hundred examples of decorated mortuary pottery. The paper gives descriptions of ruins in Verde Valley and in Tusayan. In the latter place the great finds of pottery were made, and, judging by the magnificent lithographs in color, art in ceramics had made some remarkable strides among the women of ancient Sikiyatki. The controlling element in the decoration was always symbolism rather than realism.

¹ Pp. 115. Published by Crane & Company, Topeka.

² Seventeenth Annual Report, Part II, Bureau of American Ethnology, J. W. Powell, Director. Washington, 1898.

M. B. CARY'S book, "The Connecticut Constitution,"¹ if somewhat tractarian in its tone, sheds a good deal of light upon certain old-fashioned features still adhering to the government of that state. The constitutional history of Connecticut is rather distinctive. The people of the state continued to live under the old English charter for more than forty years after the Declaration of Independence. Finally, in 1818, chiefly because of some provisions limiting religious liberty, a convention met and drew up a constitution which has survived to this day despite several well-organized attempts to return it to the crucible and recast it. It was the Connecticut Convention of 1818 which originated the method of amending state constitutions by the legislature with a subsequent vote of the people, and the same body made other historic reforms and modifications in our constitutional practice.

Now the time has come, it seems, when further change is necessary, and Mr. Melbert B. Cary, the author of this little study, is a strong advocate of an immediate revision of the constitution. The chief defect appears to be in the method of representation, and the system, we are told, is "without any support in reason, justice or common sense." It is a fact that there is in it little semblance of equality, and it is actually true that 15 per cent of the population can elect a majority of the representatives in the legislature. The representation is by towns. In 1818, when the constitution was adopted, these were rural communities while many now are large cities. No town may have more than two representatives and New Haven, Hartford and Bridgeport, containing more than one-fourth the population of the whole state, may send only six representatives out of a total of 252 to the lower house of legislature. A "rotten borough," called Union, polling 96 votes, has as many members as New Haven, which polls 15,309. There are several towns, it is said, in which every citizen has "run for the legislature once and they are now on the second lap." In the senate, which is sometimes spoken of as the popular branch, much inequality exists also. One county, Tolland, has one senator for every 12,000 people and New Haven city only one for every 62,000.

Mr. Cary notes other defects in the present constitution of Connecticut, the chief of which are that the governor and other state officers must receive a majority instead of a plurality vote; the excessive power of the legislature; unequal taxation, and of course civic corruption, of which no democratic community seems to-day to be quite blameless. It is sad to think that "of all the states in the Union not one is more notorious" in this respect than Connecticut,

¹The Connecticut Constitution. By MELBERT B. CARY. Pp. 140. Price, \$1.25. New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1900.

and it is a sweeping allegation to which many, no doubt, would not agree. Mr. Cary is a pamphleteer and he uses the words "iniquitous," "outrage," "despotism" and the like far too frequently for a scientific treatise. He has forcibly called attention, however, to grave constitutional irregularities in his state, and the conditions which he points to might be profitably studied in connection with that period of English history before the Reform bills were passed.¹

THE VOLUME of nine essays, by Controller Coler, of New York City,² contains much practical information with reference to administrative problems in our great cities, and numerous suggestions as to the remedies for present evils. The subjects covered are as follows: The City Charter, Public Charity, Charity Regulated, Income and Expenses, Water Supply, Transportation, City Development, The Church in Politics, Political Machines. The striking characteristic of the volume is its positive tone. Reforms are shown to be not only desirable, but practicable. The abuses of charity are cited only to teach the proper rules of control. The importance and the possibility of introducing business methods into city bookkeeping are demonstrated. The ability of the city to supply its own water is proved. A primary election law is proposed. Churches are exhorted to substitute education for denunciation. "The most indifferent voter may be made to take a new and commendable interest in public affairs if taught that he will be directly benefited by good government." "The first step is to reach the man; the second to interest him, and the proof of the method is to hold his interest." The church should begin at the bottom as do the bosses, and establish social clubs, which "places should not be cold, cheerless, conventional lecture halls where superior knowledge is exhibited on a pedestal of pride and superiority. . . . Every man who crosses the threshold should be made to feel that no matter how humble his station in life, the public welfare is in some measure committed to his keeping."

THE MANIA for discovering precursors of eminent authors, which continues to be a favorite amusement for the historians of philosophy, was for a time equally popular among the historians of economic doctrine. Now, however, there seems to be a widespread conviction that the discovery of facts and the study of existing conditions is more

¹ Contributed by Dr. Ellis P. Oberholzer, Philadelphia.

² *Municipal Government.* By BIRD S. COLER. Pp. 200. Price, \$1.00. New York D. Appleton & Co., 1900.

important than the laborious resuscitation of obsolete doctrinal errors. There are, nevertheless, periods in the history of economic theory which constitute so radical a change in the attitude of men towards their economic environment, that a detailed study of the leaders of opinion, and the new points of view which they represented seems perfectly justifiable. Thus, M. J. Desmars' recent volume¹ on Graslin, whom the author maintains is the most important, immediate precursor of Adam Smith, is of considerable interest to the economist. Certainly M. Desmars' book makes it possible for the student to familiarize himself much more readily with the work of the French critic of Baudouin, Turgot, Mirabeau and the other disciples of Quesnay, than if he were obliged to read Graslin in the original. From a merely literary point of view, Graslin's writings are intensely unattractive, but the emphasis he placed upon the economic factor "labor," and his sound advocacy of the inductive method, entitle him to be rescued from oblivion.²

IN "MOOTED QUESTIONS OF HISTORY"³ the author discusses twenty-seven subjects, in regard to which Roman Catholics have been aspersed, or have not received due credit. He attempts to state the facts, to give a just estimate, and to quote authorities to prove that his opinions are correct. The greater portion of the volume is made up of extracts from the so-called authorities. The book would be of more value if written in a less partisan spirit, and if the authorities had been selected with greater discrimination. Carlyle, Maitland, Stubbs, Comte, Cantù, Mosheim, Schlegel, Voltaire, Lingard, Dr. Johnson and many others are pressed into service. The result is interesting.

"THE CRIMINAL:⁴ HIS PERSONNEL AND ENVIRONMENT" is a scientific study by August Drähms, the Resident Chaplain of the State Prison at San Quentin, California, of an extremely interesting subject that has received in the United States better practical treatment than theoretical discussion.

Mr. Drähms brings to his task a vast amount of practical experience in this country with apparently a thorough familiarity with the best

¹ *Un Précurseur d'A. Smith en France: J. J. L. Graslin (1727-1790.)* By J. DESMARS. Pp. xxii, 257. Paris: L. Larose, 1900.

² Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. VEDITZ, Philadelphia.

³ Revised Edition. By HUMPHREY J. DESMOND. Pp. 328. Price, 75 cents. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1901.

⁴ With an Introduction by Cesare Lombroso, Professor in the University of Turin, Italy. Pp. xiv, 402. Price, \$2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.

foreign literature on criminology. His work is the first attempt in English to present systematically and within reasonable compass the results of the new school of criminologists. He does this critically, because he is not in entire sympathy with the idea that there are universal criminal types and special criminal types, of which Lombroso and the Italians generally have made so much of late. The book is just such a one as many a teacher, who would like to present the subject in a short course, will want to use.

It is unfortunate to note a few slips in terminology, such as, for example, the use of the term "socialistic" instead of *Sociological*, which the author evidently means. Etymologically the word "socialistic" would be a better word, but unfortunately, in the connection in which he uses it, it is misleading.

The book as a whole, however, admirably supplements another book in the same general class: Wines' "Punishment and Reformation" which treats the problems of criminology chiefly from the institutional side, while the present work views them in their personal and individual aspects.

IN THE PREFACE to his little book on "Morals Based on Demography," M. Arsène Dumont¹ declares that his primary object is "to indicate a criterion of good and evil." His ethical science is based on demography, "which alone has the means of measuring the value of populations." The perfection of our statistical and other demographic methods will lead to a more perfect knowledge of the social consequences of certain kinds of conduct—such as alcoholism, for example.

In considering the ethical justification or condemnation of any particular habit, we must first study its ethnography, says M. Dumont; we must observe how different peoples—savage, barbarous and civilized—conduct themselves in this respect, and as far as possible discover how they reason with regard to their conduct. Such an investigation will have two consequences: first, to show the universality or localization of a custom; secondly, to demolish the prejudices which have been nurtured in us by education and environment.

Then, in the light of results shown by demography, we must establish what *should* be done, what are the advantages of one line of conduct and the evil consequences of the opposite behavior; these advantages and disadvantages, however, must not be estimated with regard to the individual, but with reference to the aims of society as a whole. The

¹ *La Morale Basée sur la Démographie.* By ARSÈNE DUMONT. (Bibliothèque des Sciences Sociologiques.) Pp. x, 181. Price, 3fr. 50. Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1901.

social purpose and chief aim is always the same : to possess the greatest possible population having the greatest possible value.

A certain line of conduct being recognized as advantageous, it is next necessary to find means for leading individuals to conform to it. If its reasonableness is made evident and comprehensible to the minds of all citizens, they will adopt it of their own accord. Constraint can only be made necessary by the resistance of individuals, and resistance can only result from their being insufficiently convinced.

This is, in brief, an outline of M. Dumon's rationalistic ethics. It need scarcely be pointed out that two of his fundamental ideas—that social good supersedes individual good, and that men need but to know what *is* good and they will do it—have long been, and still are, subject to debate.

"A SAILOR'S LOG—RECOLLECTIONS OF FORTY YEARS OF NAVAL LIFE,"¹ is written in a simple and interesting style. From the character of the composition, as well as the content, one might conclude that Rear Admiral Evans had in mind the American boy as a reader. Incidents are related that suggest the reflections of a hero writing at an age when the oft-told stories of younger days—the experiences that thrill and entertain—alone remain written on the figment of memory. Beside stories of adventure, comment on the political situation and other men of his generation, may throw some light on events associated with the upbuilding of our modern navy. As to this part of the work, however, controversy is already begun and it remains for future research to demonstrate the correctness of the views of the sailor.

STUDENTS AND FRIENDS of municipal reform are glad that "Municipal Improvements"² is already in its third edition. Seven new chapters have been added, among which the author mentions the following as specially due to the progressing thought of the past decade: Elevated Traffic *vs.* Subways, Civil Service Appointments and Municipal Ownership. The book continues to be a serviceable guide to the public official whose entrance to positions of responsibility is so often due to political skill rather than to education in political needs or administrative methods. The author is essentially practical, and is most successful when stating uncontrovertible facts of a simple nature. Whenever he undertakes to present the theoretical aspects of disputed problems, the result is less satisfactory. The chapter on Municipal

¹ Pp. 467. Price, \$2.00. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901.

² Municipal Improvements. By W. F. GOODHUE. Pp. 207. Price, \$1.75. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1900.

Ownership, for example, does not indicate intimacy with either later theoretical discussions or practical applications. Especially commendable are the numerous tables which give the average reasonable cost of conducting the various departments in towns, as well as in small and large cities.¹

HALSEY'S "OLD NEW YORK FRONTIER,"² is one of the most readable books on local colonial history that has appeared in recent years. The work is scholarly throughout. As a history it is replete with biographical sketches of leaders in the pioneer movements in the settlement of the Empire State. The author has also woven into his account many incidents that lend interest. The writing bears evidence of research for the sake of truth, rather than from sordid motive. Too often state and local histories bear the stamp of commercial instinct, or of selfish devotion to ancestry and local pride.

"TUBERCULOSIS³ AS A DISEASE OF THE MASSES AND HOW TO COMBAT IT" is the topic of a prize essay recently awarded the international prize by the International Congress to Combat Tuberculosis as a Disease of the Masses, which convened at Berlin, May 24 to 27, 1899, and awarded this prize to Dr. S. A. Knopf, of New York City, through its committee on July 31, 1900.

This is a most compact, practical and generally helpful treatment of a problem in sanitation that has yet appeared. It should be in the hands of every worker in social settlements, charities and municipal movements. It is a book that can be wisely circulated in the homes of the masses of the working people. It is so well illustrated and so free from technical terminology that any one can read it without difficulty. The sanction which its doctrines have received from the foremost medical authorities in the world are sufficient guarantee for its scientific accuracy. It would seem, however, to the layman who is even partially converted to the practical expedience to counteract germ diseases, that Dr. Knopf has been overzealous in his advice concerning precautionary measures. If, however, even a small part of the sensible and thoroughly practical plans he proposes to combat the spread of consumption are adopted, there can be no doubt that his optimistic conclusions in regard to the ultimate eradication of this deadliest foe of the Anglo-Saxon race may be realized.

¹ Contributed by Dr. W. H. Allen.

² By FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY. Pp. 433. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

³ Pp. 86. Price, paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents. Published by M. Firestack, 200 West Ninety-sixth street, New York, 1901.

MR. KUHNS DEDICATES his book¹ to the memory of his ancestors, George Kuntz and Hans Herr, pioneer settlers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and his brief preface is dated Bern, Switzerland. He thus shows the inspiration of his work, first his reverence for his ancestors, and next his study of modern German historians, in whose pages he has found many evidences of the hard conditions under which in colonial times, Germans and Swiss sought refuge in America. The haven they found here gave them shelter, and helped them make their homes the birthplace of a generation from which have sprung many notable characters. Wisely limited to the colonial period, this book has the merit of being a brief and suggestive summary of the times and of the lives of men that gave to this country one of the best elements of its varied nationality. For many years "Pennsylvania Dutch" was a term of reproach, due largely to the bitter hostility evolved by their persistent loyalty to the Proprietary party, while Franklin and his adherents were trying to wrest control from the Penns. For years the Pennsylvania Dutch were charged with many faults, notably their hostility to education and to political and social progress, but all this has gradually changed; a large and growing literature is devoted to the praiseworthy part that German settlers have played in the development of a strong national life. Mr. Kuhns sketches the historic background, the wars and desolation that drove the Germans from the Rhine, the Palatinate and Switzerland. In the new world, Pennsylvania gave them a welcome, good homes and fair treatment. He sketches the hardships of their long and difficult journey—of their voyage across the ocean, their indomitable industry and frugality, and their rapid recovery from adversity. The prosperity of the counties where they settled bears evidence of their intelligence as farmers, as citizens, as fathers and heads of families and as church members. They clung to their language, to their religion, to their customs, with a fervor that found little favor at the hands of those who ultimately secured and maintained ascendancy here for the closing years of the eighteenth century. Their religious life is treated of in a chapter replete with useful details of their forms of faith and their adhesion to the tenets for which their ancestors had made such sacrifices at home.

"In Peace and War" is a chapter showing that from the hundred thousand Germans settled in this country before the Revolution, have sprung between four and five millions of the people of the United

¹ The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch. By OSCAR KUHNS, member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of the Pennsylvania-German Society and of the Lancaster County Historical Society. Pp. 268. Price, \$1.50. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1901.

States to-day, and at least two millions of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Their numerical representation in the patriot army and in the conventions and congresses and other bodies that guided the Revolution to a successful issue, was in even greater proportion. An interesting appendix analyzes the German patronymics; an exhaustive bibliography and a good index enhance the value of the work.¹

MRS. ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER does not pretend to study history seriously, and insists that her books should not be judged from too scientific a standpoint. This disarms criticism and leaves the reviewer little else to do than to comment in friendly fashion upon her collections of historical notes and anecdotes, and her naive, gossipy confessions regarding her historical methods and their many shortcomings.

Her last book on the closing years of the nineteenth century,² is a veritable *pot-pourri* of all sorts and kinds of information gathered from many sources, all of it interesting and most of it reliable. The point of view is strongly British, though at no time violently partisan, the tone is always optimistic, and the attitude one of appreciative sympathy for those of her characters in whom she has faith. A genial thread of satisfaction with her former books runs through the work and to them she frequently refers. There are, too, occasional threads of reminiscence and personal comment, so much of the latter, indeed, that a respectable account of Mrs. Latimer's life and family connections might be written from the information furnished in casual references and foot-notes.

The volume will doubtless have a wide sale among those who never take history any more seriously than does Mrs. Latimer. But such readers will obtain from this as from the other of Mrs. Latimer's books little idea of the great problems of the nineteenth century or the trend of present-day events. There is neither proportion nor perspective in her treatment, no sense of the relative importance of events, or of the reliability of her sources of information. Unity, continuity and movement are all lacking and events are selected for narration largely because they are interesting, while frequently facts are omitted or rapidly passed over because Mrs. Latimer does not understand their bearing and is incapable of explaining them. The most flagrant instance of this is to be seen in her remarks in the preface regarding Germany. To a query as to why she had not included a "Germany in the Nineteenth Century" in her series she

¹Contributed by J. G. Rosengarten, Esq., Philadelphia.

²The Last Years of the Nineteenth Century. By ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER. Pp. 545. Price, \$2.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1900.

replies that she would have done so but that she had used up all her material in writing of France and Italy; that she was unwilling to say anything about the Emperor William II. because she did not understand him; and that inasmuch as the history of Germany since 1888 has been made up of nothing but factional struggles in the Reichstag and Reichsrath (*sic*, Bundesrath?) and of the activities and plans of the emperor she has omitted all mention of Germany in the present volume. Shades of German patriotism! a history of Europe in the nineteenth century with Germany practically omitted, when to the average German that same history for the last thirty years is the story of Germany with the rest of the world left out. But strangest of all is the fact that throughout this volume scarcely a word is said of the great commercial and industrial transformations taking place in the countries of the continent or of the mighty world conflict taking place among the powers. Mrs. Latimer should not even with apologies call her books History.¹

"FRENCH LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY"² begins a series of special studies of the social and domestic relations of "Our European Neighbors." Much attention is given to details of home life and social intercourse among aristocratic and bourgeois circles. The author emphasizes two dominant characteristics, frugality and courtesy, and two dominating ambitions, to owe no man anything and to provide for a rainy day.³

VOLUMES THREE AND FOUR of McCarthy's "The Four Georges and William,"⁴ completes the series of writings covering a period of English history from Queen Anne down to Edward VII. The first publication in this series was "The History of Our Own Times." This was followed by McCarthy's "Gladstone." Volumes one and two, under the title of "The Four Georges," appeared some time since. In this latest series Justin Huntley McCarthy is associated with his father. The literary finish of these writings, the introduction of court gossip, of anecdote and interesting personality, all combine to make history entertaining. McCarthy combines with his broad understanding of political and social movements a sense of humor and an appreciation of romance seldom found in a writer. History is popularized, but at the same time it is made virile by the strength portrayed in all its parts.

The writer has a distinct bias on matters of religious controversy

¹Contributed by Prof. C. M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr College.

²By HANNAH LYNCH. Pp. viii, 311. Price, \$1.20. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

³Contributed by Anna F. Brush, Chestnut Hill, Pa.

⁴Pp. 349, 338. Price, \$1.25 a volume. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1901.

and imperial relations pertaining to Ireland. He is keenly sensible to the hardships suffered by his countrymen without properly appreciating the political necessities involved in the larger purposes of the nation. On the other hand, he is the more frank, and the better able to see the true character of many of the men and measures discussed, by reason of the absence of a blind patriotism which would avoid comment on relations harmful to imperial interests.

MONTGOMERY'S "LEADING FACTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY"¹ is so well known to both students and teachers that further comment on the content and merit of the work is unnecessary. The new edition brings the subject down to the death of Queen Victoria.

A NEW EDITION of "The Catholic Pioneers of America," by John O'Kane Murray, M. A.,² has appeared. The author has written from the Roman Catholic standpoint, and besides the dramatic interest of the adventures which it relates, his book rescues from obscurity or oblivion the noble deeds of many a hero who received from historians but a scant tribute of praise. Among many almost forgotten men we may mention Adam Daulac, who checked the advance of the fierce Iroquois and saved Montreal from an attack which would probably have been fatal to all the colonists of Canada. With but sixteen young Frenchmen and a few friendly natives (these dwindled to only four Algonquins towards the end of the struggle), he kept at bay twelve hundred Iroquois, and, when at last he and his companions had succumbed, it was found that they had killed one-third of their dusky assailants. This terrible loss of life deterred the Iroquois from continuing their advance, and gave Canada a breathing spell.

We wish the author, while praising with due enthusiasm the self-sacrifice of Daulac and the heroic valor of his pioneers, had been more severe in scoring the excesses of some of the conquerors of South America—Francis Pizarro, for instance. The reappearance of this work will probably revive old controversies and raise new ones; but when the testimony shall have been carefully sifted, the history of this heroic but blood-stained period will be more complete and more thoroughly understood.³

IN HIS "Administration d'une Grande Ville" (Londres),⁴ M. Joseph Nève, Advocate of the Court of Appeals of Ghent, has given us a

¹ Pp. 420, 79. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1901.

² Pp. xiv, 434. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co.

³ Contributed by Rev. R. I. Holaind.

⁴ *L'Administration d'une Grande Ville (Londres).* By JOSEPH E. NÈVE. Pp. 278. Gand, Société Anonyme, 1901. (École des Sciences Politiques et Sociales de Louvain.)

very readable account of London's present city government. The standpoint of the author throughout is that of the continental administrative official, a fact which gives the brochure its chief interest to English and American readers. But he is far from being incapable of understanding the genius of English local political institutions as his frequent references to recent political movements in London abundantly show. The treatment of the private water and gas companies of London co-ordinately with the various branches of the local government, reveals the continental point of view of the writer, though few of his readers in England and America would regard its inclusion as unessential to the study. A chapter on the London Government Act of 1899 brings the work thoroughly up to date. The outline map, showing the principal administrative districts of London, and a brief bibliography, containing the usual number of errors made by compositors in dealing with foreign titles, add considerably to the value of M. Nève's study.¹

OPINIONS MAY differ as to what constituted the chief departments of human activity in the nineteenth century, but there can be no doubt that a list which omits organized religious effort and the relations between church and state has failed to take into account a phase of human activity that had something more than a negative influence. In "The Nineteenth Century, a Review of Progress,"² a series of essays originally printed in the New York *Evening Post*, the most striking feature is the omissions. No one can find legitimate fault with the essays that are produced; all are good, some are admirable, notably those of Professors Munro Smith, on Germany; Heilprin, on geographical exploration; Hadley, on railroad economy; Carter, on higher education, and the various scientists on their respective subjects. But a work that pretends to cover nineteenth century progress and says nothing of the progress of organized religion, of law, except international law, of jurisprudence, of constitutional systems, except that of the United States; that includes under Sociology essays on explorations, the gold standard, steel manufacture, libraries, life insurance, woman's rights, and says nothing of social progress, the relation of classes, of capital and labor, of industrialism *versus* agrarianism, or of individualism *versus* state socialism; that under History deals only with England, Germany, Russia,

¹ Contributed by Robert C. Brooks, Cornell University.

² The Nineteenth Century, A Review of Progress during the Past One Hundred Years in the Chief Departments of Human Activity. Pp. 494. New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

Canada, Mexico, China and Japan; that has an essay on Russian expansion and none on British, an essay on British internal history, but none on Russian, that omits entirely Australasia and in general leaves out any adequate review of political, social, constitutional and commercial progress, can hardly be said to justify its title. What has been done is well done; but the editorial plan has either failed of execution or was faulty in its conception, while the editorial selection and distribution is slipshod. Why should "steel manufacture" and "gold standard" be classed as Sociological, or "printing" as Applied Science? It would have been better had the group divisions been omitted entirely, and the essays printed without classification under some such modified title as "A Few Aspects of Nineteenth Century Progress."

THERE HAS RECENTLY been a tendency among the diverse factions of French socialists to unite upon some common doctrinal basis and make a more systematic effort to secure the political influence to which their total numerical strength would entitle them. Though they are apparently willing to overlook differences in doctrine, it would seem that the problem of party tactics and, to a still greater degree, the circumstance of personal likes and dislikes, keeps them apart and makes a preconcerted uniformity of conduct impossible.

The first national congress, held in December, 1899, was the beginning of the realization of a scheme for united action—a modest, feeble beginning, it is true, but, nevertheless, a beginning sufficient to encourage the hope of some day approaching the discipline and solidarity of the German Socialist party. This hope, however, has been shattered by the second French Congress of Socialist Organizations, held in September, 1900. The official stenographic report¹ of its meetings is filled with purposeless discussions of side-issues and with personal abuse varying in intensity from the employment of such epithets as "coward" and "assassin" to actual blows.

Of all the congresses held during the Paris Exposition, and there were many,—this one, the avowed purpose of which was to establish solidarity and harmony, stands pre-eminent for tumultuousness and discord. To restore order and permit the warmth of debate to subside it was necessary on one occasion to suspend the meeting for twenty minutes. It is only fair to add, however, that a committee was appointed to prepare "a project for the complete unification of the party."

¹ Contributed by Professor C. M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr College.

² *Deuxième Congrès général des Organisations socialistes françaises tenu à Paris du 28 au 30 Septembre, 1900. Compte rendu sténographique officiel. Pp. ix, 389. Price, 3 fr. Paris: Librairie Georges Bellais, 1900.*

The International Socialist Congress, at which twenty-two nations were represented and which immediately preceded the French congress, offered a strong contrast to the latter, inasmuch as its proceedings, according to the official report¹ were expeditious, business-like and peaceful. Ever since the exclusion of the anarchists from these congresses, the elements of discord which formerly characterized them have disappeared. One of the most important resolutions passed was that providing for the organization and support of an international socialistic labor bureau, to keep the socialist parties of the various nations in constant touch with one another, to publish reports on labor questions of international importance, and to perform the preliminary work incident upon each international congress of socialists. Brussels was chosen as its location. The bureau has also been authorized to collect books, documents and reports bearing on labor problems.

Resolutions were passed in favor of international legislation providing for an eight hours' day and a minimum wage; in favor of the socialization of the means of production; in condemnation of standing armies and colonial expansion; in favor of the organization of maritime laborers; advocating universal suffrage and direct popular legislation; in favor of municipal socialism; recognizing that trusts are the inevitable consequence of the present productive system.²

IT IS SELDOM that a book, covering such a wide range of subjects of popular and scientific interest as does "The Progress of the Century,"³ is ably written and edited. Such works are usually published by subscription companies, are catchy, spectacular and misleading. Harper and Brothers have recognized the demand for a first-rate *résumé* of the progress made in the last hundred years. They have selected many eminent writers in their respective fields to do the work. Names like Alfred Russel Wallace, William Ramsay, William Mathew Flinders-Petre, Sir Joseph Norman Lockyer, Thomas Convin Mendenhall, Captain Alfred T. Mahan, and Cardinal James Gibbons give authority and unusual interest.

Nearly every department of science and material progress is included. The style is simple and direct, such as will appeal to the general reader. The work will do much to popularize science, and drive out of the market the trash that is being circulated by irresponsible and unreliable publishing and distributing agencies.

¹ *Cinquième Congrès Socialiste International tenu à Paris du 23 au 27 Septembre, 1900. Compte rendu analytique officiel.* Pp. 121. Price 1fr. 25. Paris, Librairie Georges Bellais, 1901.

² Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Philadelphia.

³ Pp. 583. Price, \$2.50. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901.

MRS. ST. JULIEN RAVENEL, in her "Life and Times of William Lowndes, of South Carolina, 1782-1822,"¹ has made a distinct contribution to American biography. Lowndes took a prominent part in the affairs of both nation and state. In portraying the life of the man she has given a lively historic setting. The relations of North and South as well as the international controversies of the time are woven into the work in an interesting manner.

THE "LIBRARY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES" published at Milan has recently been increased by a suggestive volume² on state socialism from the point of view of legal philosophy. The author traces the evolution of modern socialism and individualism, with special reference to the problems of ethics and of legal organization which these theories involve; he points out that the economic doctrines of modern socialism are in the main the logical outcome and development, the continuation, as it were, of classical political economy. There is a strange parallelism between Ricardo and Karl Marx, between Quesnay and Henry George, between J. B. Say and Saint-Simon.

Various theories concerning the complex problem of the primary, fundamental factors of social evolution, are discussed in the first part of the book, which also characterizes the attitude of the "organic," biological school of sociologists towards the increased sphere of state activities in the interest of social peace and the prevention of class conflicts. There is also an examination of the economic interpretation of history as proposed by Marx, Loria and others. The second part is devoted to a consideration of the points of difference between "utopian" and "scientific" socialism; utopian socialism preaches an ideal, a state of affairs which is ethically desirable and which we should consequently strive for; while scientific socialism is positive and propounds a law of economic and juridic evolution, not a scheme of social reform. Part III contains a detailed account of the tendencies in the history of social philosophy which have contributed to the development of the idea of state socialism (Holbach, Hegel, Leroux, Blanc, Dupont-White, Sismondi), particularly the doctrines of the German historical school of law (Savigny, Ahrens, Gans, Lassalle).

The author concludes with a sketch of various criticisms of the social activity of the state and of the theory of state intervention, beginning with the views of Kant and the eighteenth century phi-

¹ Pp. 249. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901.

² *Il Socialismo di Stato dal punto di vista della filosofia giuridica.* By F. EMPEDOCLE RESTIVO. Pp. xiv, 410. Price, 3 lire. Milano-Palermo: Remo Sandron, 1900.

losophers, and terminating with Spencer and Nietzsche. The book as a whole is historical, comparative and critical, rather than positive or doctrinal.

M. DE ROUSIERS, in his "*La Vie Américaine, l'Education et la Société*,"¹ reaches the following conclusion: "The world seems to be divided to-day into two very distinct groups, one placing its hope on individual effort, uniting its forces only when necessity demands, following forms of union varying with the needs of the moment, staking everything on private initiative, and dreading restraint; the other, on the contrary, placing its confidence in collective effort, in administrative groups, permanent, difficult of transformation, depending on regimentation, and fearing above all things the initiative of the individual will." He then proceeds to ask the question, "To which of these two groups will the future belong?" He answers it as readily, "The future belongs to the race in which man, freed from all useless fetters, and trained by individual effort attains the maximum of intensity in that effort. This will be true, not only in the material world, but also in the moral."

The author is a shrewd observer, has traveled widely in America and has an insight into our social conditions which is rare for a foreigner. He notices at the outset the great freedom our education and home life give to our boys and girls, encouraging individual initiative from the start. He sees the strenuous life in every phase of our daily routine, and calls attention to the fact that we even go on our last voyage to the cemetery "au trot."

He sees clearly that the wealthy and "progressive Yankees form a natural aristocracy which plays an effective rôle in the social constitution of the American democracy. Thanks to them the United States continues in its progressive march in spite of the politicians."

Seeing as he does our political corruption, he is no pessimist, for he sees at the same time that American society is better than its politics, and that when this natural aristocracy shall transfer a share of its attention from business to politics abuses will begin to disappear.

The widespread undercurrent of religious feeling is apparent to him, which even respects the street corner performances of the Salvation Army, yet he is struck with an equally extended indifference to religion, for he says: "Nine times out of ten an American, speaking of religious questions, says with simplicity, 'I belong to no church.'" He sees in the Protestant churches all the elements of efficient social clubs, but is inspired with no religious feeling in their perfectly appointed buildings.

¹By PAUL DE ROUSIERS, pp. 336. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie.

The author finds quite a number of economic disorders, such as the instability of employment, indifference of patrons to workmen, abuse of speculation, the presence of trusts, the fact that divorce is carried to a form of "legal prostitution," the government too largely in the hands of unscrupulous politicians and justice badly administered,—yet he judges a society not by its evils, but by the force of the resistance opposed to the evils. And in this force of resistance he finds an equally large list of virtues: a great aptitude to surmount crises, discouragement practically unknown. "To be and remain American one must consider life a struggle and not a pleasure." "That which makes the American a success, that which constitutes his type—is his moral courage and personal energy—an active, creative energy."

"In social development the progress of the United States is an example and a lesson. The Americans are not behind the Europeans; it is not they who should come to us, but we who should go to them." "There is a newness in the methods of labor, in commercial relations, in the system of education, in government, and in international relations." All this makes pleasant reading. The book is to be recommended as an antidote for pessimism.¹

ANOTHER WORK IS added to the fast-growing historical literature of Texas. "The Evolution of a State, or Recollections of Old Texas Days"² records the personal reminiscences of Mr. Noah Smithwick. The story begins while Texas was under Mexican rule, 1827, and ends in 1861, when the author moved to California. Its value is found in its vivid narrative and description of pioneer life.

A THOROUGH AND AUTHORITATIVE survey³ of social administration in Austria, at the end of the nineteenth century, has been published in two large volumes by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior for the recent Paris Exposition. The first of these volumes, bearing the sub-title "Social Economy," treats of the public insurance of laborers against accidents and sickness, labor contracts, industrial statistics, co-operative labor associations, the condition of laborers in the employ of the state, the status of agricultural laborers, agricultural credit, savings banks, and the housing of laborers. The second

¹ Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode, Illinois State Normal School.

² Pp. 340. Price, \$1.50. Published by the Gammel Book Co., Austin, Tex.

³ *Sociale Verwaltung in Oesterreich am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. Aus Anlass der Weltausstellung Paris 1900 herausgegeben.* Band I. Socialökonomie. Pp. ix, 725 (not numbered consecutively). Price, 24 m. Band II. Hygiene und öffentliches Hilfswesen. Pp. x, 455 (not numbered consecutively). Price, 16 m. Wien and Leipzig (Deuticke), 1900.

volume, entitled "Hygiene and Public Assistance," treats in the main of sanitary problems, the laws regulating the practice of medicine, special institutions for convalescents, the blind, the insane, the deaf and dumb, etc., the care of the poor, pawn-shops, alcoholism, epidemics, mortality statistics, Austrian systems of public water supply, and regulations concerning food adulteration.

Many of these sections are contributed by well-known authorities in each field, such as Dr. Victor Mataja, Professor Philippovich and Dr. Schullern-Schrattenhofen. The names of such men as these are a guarantee of the high standard of the work as a whole, which it is of course impossible to analyze in a short notice. It may be stated, however, that every section is brought up to date and treated with a thoroughness, compactness and wealth of statistical material which should make these volumes invaluable to the student of economic and social conditions in Austria. The experiences of Austria in such matters as the organization of bureaus of labor statistics, the regulation of credit operations among farmers, the improvement of laborers' homes in cities, and the combat against alcoholism, form valuable object-lessons for other countries.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, the author of "Ancient Ideals," has continued his task in a volume entitled "The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages."¹ He attempts to show how classical methods of thought and presentation changed and developed into the mediæval. He is mainly concerned with the period extending from the fourth to the seventh centuries. This work is a logical continuation of "Ancient Ideals" and is marked by the same excellencies. It is impossible to indicate its many merits in a brief notice. The value of the book would be enhanced by a recapitulation summarizing what the mediæval world retained of the classical elements and how it transformed them. A full and excellent bibliographical appendix will enable students to follow out any subject in which the book has stimulated interest, as it is certain to do along many lines.

ONE OF THE essential arguments in Karl Marx's system of "scientific" socialism is the declaration that wealth is everywhere and constantly being concentrated in the hands of a few—that while the mass of capital is increasing, the number of its possessors is decreasing. The growth of colossal enterprises, factories, trusts, large stores, is evident even to the most superficial observer of economic evolution. Marx, however, maintained that the same law of concentration is as

¹ Pp. xv, 400. Price, \$1.75, net. New York: The Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, Agents, 1901.

valid in agriculture as in industry and commerce; and it is especially upon this point that many economists have joined issue with him. Indeed, this feature of the socialistic doctrine has not only caused much theoretical discussion, but it has likewise been a serious impediment in the way of socialist propaganda in countries like France, where small land holdings are prevalent, and the abolition of private property in land is no welcome creed.

M. Emile Vandervelde has in his latest book¹ undertaken the study of this question so far as Belgium is concerned. He is a socialist of the school of Marx and is consequently disposed to admit the validity of arguments, in favor of the socialistic claim, which an unprejudiced investigator will accept only with a grain of salt. His conclusions, moreover, though they may be perfectly true for this country, cannot be generalized as a universal economic law.

In a series of monographs forming the first part of his book, and devoted to the various provinces of Belgium, M. Vandervelde investigates the origin of large estates, and the traces of feudal and ecclesiastical ownership. In the last part of his book, he gives a decided affirmative answer to the question: Is property in land concentrating with the rapidity which certain (mostly socialistic) authors claim? But it should be objected that the simple increase, during the past fifty years, of the number of those who possess no land, is by no means a convincing argument for the thesis that the average size of estates has increased. Happily for M. Vandervelde's reputation as a scientist, his other arguments are better than this. His book will no doubt be read with great interest by students anxious to test the validity of economic theories by comparison with the facts of economic evolution observed in Belgium.²

JUDGE WAITE has recently published a fifth edition of his well-known "History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred."³ In its main outlines it is unchanged from the preceding edition, but it contains about one hundred more pages. The chief additions are discussions in the appendix as to whether Jesus was an Essene, and as to the origin of the inquisition. The former the author answers affirmatively; the latter he derives from the teachings of Paul as interpreted and amplified by Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine. The work has not been revised in the light of our present knowl-

¹ *La Propriété foncière en Belgique.* By EMILE VANDERVELDE. Pp. 327. Price, 10 fr. *Bibliothèque internationale des Sciences Sociologiques.* Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1900.

² Contributed by C. W. A. Veditz, Ph. D., LL. B., Philadelphia.

³ By C. B. WAITE, A. M. Pp. xxvi, 556. Price, \$2.25. Chicago: C. V. Waite & Co., 1900.

edge; *e. g.*, Judge Waite is apparently ignorant of the discovery of the "Gospel according to Peter," which he discusses as a lost document. In many places he betrays the fact that he has not kept up with the progress of the last decade. But many will welcome a new edition of a work which aroused so much interest, found so many admirers and excited such keen animosity.¹

REVIEWS.

La Génesis del Crimen en Mexico. Estudio de Psiquiatria Social.

By JULIO GUERRERO. Mexico and Paris (Bouret), 1901.

There is so great a dearth of literature bearing upon social conditions in the Valley of Mexico that we are inclined to consider any book upon the subject as a valuable contribution, and, as in the case of gift-horses, to refrain from being critical. The present book, however, despite certain faults of structure, and a certain laxity of statement, is an acute and masterly analysis of certain phases of social conditions in Mexico, and for that reason does not require any special leniency of judgment.

The chief factor in moulding the character of the inhabitants of the City and Valley of Mexico is stated to be the high altitude. The very great elevation of this plateau, combined with its tropical situation, causes an extreme rarification of the atmosphere and a great diminution in the amount of oxygen contained in a given volume of air. This has led to an organic laziness upon the part of the inhabitants, to a confirmed quietism and a consequent distaste and contempt for work. To the same cause Guerrero assigns the lack of civic valor, the political quiescence in the face of governmental or private oppression. The enervating effect of an extremely rarefied atmosphere is aggravated rather than assuaged by an excessive use of stimulants, notably of alcohol, coffee and tobacco, and in the dry season, the nervous tension becomes so great that no action is felt to be extravagant or extraordinary. In the dry season the nervous excitability of the inhabitants of the plateau is at its height, and for these months the statistics of crimes, especially those against persons, to which Mexicans are peculiarly liable, are considerably greater than during the rainy season of the year. To this nervous tension under which people on the plateau live, and which all physicians attest, Guerrero attributes in great measure the prevalent tendency toward hysteria, especially on the part of the women, and the strain of melancholy, which is reflected in all the poetry, music and art of the Mexicans.

In the second part of his book Guerrero deals largely with the effect of the nature of the territory upon the development of civiliza-

¹Contributed by Professor Dana C. Munro, University of Pennsylvania.

tion on the plateau, and it may be said that from this point on, he almost entirely loses sight of his subject and incontinently wanders into frequent digressions, which though interesting, are not justified by the title of the book. In the part dealing with the territory of the Republic, the author shows how the policy of the Spanish Government to turn Mexico into a series of mining camps led to the concentration of the people and of the wealth and intellect of the country into a few widely separated cities, between which there was none but the worst conceivable means of communication. This isolation led to a comparative barbarism in the smaller cities, and above all as regards the rural populations furthest removed from the capital, to a low civilization, to an anarchical and irresponsible local government and to abuses of all sorts, while in republican times it induced revolution and disintegration, as was seen in the case of Texas. In the cities where population grew largely from natural increase, and from a fear of the insecure conditions prevailing in the country, the supply of labor became greater than the demand, wages fell, alimentation became poor, the standard of life was not raised, the population became degenerate, and the number of crimes rapidly increased. In a series of brilliant chapters Guerrero describes the classes of the city population, from which the criminals are largely recruited, comparing them with the other and non-criminal elements of the population. Another interesting portion of the book deals with the clash between the Roman Catholic Church and the spirit of skepticism, and the effect of this conflict upon the morals of the population.

The book is valuable as a series of brilliant but semi-independent essays rather than as a unified discussion of a single subject. The author possesses an admirable style, has great insight, and as a rule, good judgment, but the book suffers from being structureless and invertebrate.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Philadelphia.

Government or Human Evolution, Individualism and Collectivism.
By EDMOND KELLY, M. A., F. G. S. Pp. xv, 608. Price, \$2.50.
New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

The second volume of Mr. Kelly's work consistently follows out the methods and purposes of the first. The word "Government" in the title is not descriptive of the contents of the book, if the ordinary acceptation of that word be understood. However, it approaches nearer to a description of the contents of this volume than of the first, when allowance is made for the peculiar sense in which the word is used. Government covers "the whole field of human interference

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with nature" (p. 8). It is necessary to recall that Mr. Kelly devoted a large part of his first volume to the thesis that Nature is cruel and generally stands in the way of man's progress, while the mind of man is not a part of nature and is engaged in incessant conflict with it (Cf. Vol. II, Bk. I, Ch. 2, Sec. 4). Government is thus taken to include the whole field of man's conflict with nature, whether in the thought of the isolated individual or in the family or in voluntary associations or in what are termed "governments" in ordinary language. The idea of compulsion is usually associated with government; nor does Mr. Kelly hesitate to recommend compulsory measures. But he nowhere attempts to draw a line between self-control and compulsion, nor does he even make any technical use of the technical definition he has assumed for the purpose of giving a definite title to his book. On the contrary, the method and style are essentially popular, and, with the exception of the peculiar definitions of "natural" and "just," words are used in their popular sense.

The second volume is intended to show that the course of history so far has resulted in little progress, that all of the apparent advances have been lost again, and that such will continue to be the fate of mankind so long as it acts in accordance with nature (pp. 69, 70, 92, 93, 151). The latter and by far the larger part of the volume is devoted to an indication of what the author considers to be the proper social and economic arrangements whereby man may triumph over nature and attain to justice. In a general way it must be said that a better plan than the author's may be read into his book, and that the mere appearance of a book dealing with the domination of mind over matter shows tendencies in the right direction. Those tendencies, however, are very different from what the author imagines them to be. He pictures to himself a static society. Like other socialists he has made little advance upon Sir Thomas More. What these volumes really prove, if they prove anything, is that progress lies rather in a more psychic direction, and that it is motion that we need rather than a fixed condition. But this is far from the author's thesis.

The way in which he has involved himself by his peculiar terminology of "natural" and "just" is highly interesting. Everything turns on the distinction between the natural and the non-natural or the mental, and with the exposition of this distinction the author feels that his work is finished. It is not necessary to show that there is any law of the action of the human mind. It is merely sufficient to show that the mind is capable of acting and of controlling. If once we grasp firmly this power of the mind, we shall cease to be selfish, and there is no necessity for any analysis of how the mind works.

The utmost approach to an analysis of this mental or human "evolution," which forms the sub-title of the volume, is found in the statement that the non-natural force is "strange" and "inexplicable" (p. 180), and that it consists of elementary selfishness, found in certain natural automata, like the tiger, and of elementary unselfishness, found in certain other natural automata, like ants and bees, and that these two forces, under guidance of a higher mind or inner consciousness known to students of hypnotism, are tending with progress toward a medium type or equilibrium (p. 190). No explanation or analysis of this second and controlling mind is offered.

The first division of the volume is largely taken up with a "history of individualism." By this is meant a succession of extremely racy and well-written essays on the course of history, with a special view to the influence of the Mohammedan and Christian religions. This is by far the most readable part of the book and presents a keen criticism from the author's point of view. Mr. Kelly is apparently a gentleman whose personal associations would hardly lead him to revolutionary propositions. There is nothing, however, in his habit of thought to save him from the extreme conclusions of socialists. We must ascribe the moderation which usually tempers the logical severity of his conclusions to early associations that have taught him that after all we live in a competitive world. He makes some very sane and temperate statements and gives some excellent partial analyses, *e. g.*, "For when ferocity discovered that its rights in the product of labor were respected, it tended by disuse to disappear; and when the servile automaton recognized that the more it labored, the more it enjoyed, there grew up in it a nascent selfishness which was to substitute for the unconscious altruism of the ant, the latter-day individualism of the working man. The struggle for life went on very much as before, but instead of tending toward opposite results in different races—toward ferocity in the carnivore and toward servility in the ant—it operated in the same species to diminish ferocity on the one hand and servility on the other; and to develop the social mind which conceives of society not as an end in itself to which the individual should be sacrificed, but as a means toward the development of the individual into a man and master of his fate" (p. 95).

Starting with the other members of the City Club of New York as a believer in *laissez faire*, the author was caused to right about face by contact with laboring men in the Good Government Clubs. The peculiarities of the socialistic mind are evident thus in action and in thought. The broad characteristics of socialistic thought are *statics* and *idealism*. Static thought naturally adopts the method of contrasts and ignores the method of continuities. The static process was at once in evidence

in the first volume. It is no less manifest in this volume. The keen criticism of past history does not relieve this volume from this imperfection. Dynamic thought is not destructive, it is essentially constructive; it explains a process of progress, it never describes an elysium. Static thought, on the contrary, jumps from a criticism of the past and of the supposedly static but really ever vanishing present, to a visualization of the opposite of the social facts criticised and condemned. Thus criticism raises up a contrasted ideal. Such visualization is necessarily weak, even when attempted by the philosopher equipped with the tools of dynamic thought; how much weaker it must be in the comparative absence of those tools, the two-thirds of Mr. Kelly's book that remain after the history of individualism, abundantly testify.

This portion of the book merely states, with some modifications due to what may be imagined to have been the author's advantages of early personal environment, the usual socialistic propositions for labor warrants, gradual absorption of monopolized industries, atrophy of bank organization, etc. In fact, he is in theory a communist and more than a communist, for the organic principles of distribution worked out with infinite pains by such objective philosophers as Alfred Marshall into a perfected system of analogy to equilibration, are wiped out as with a sponge.

The chief difference between the socialists and the economists consists in their definitions of "efficiency;" but Mr. Kelly will have nothing to do with efficiency at all, nor does he stop at the communistic conception that men are to be rewarded according to their needs. He goes further and claims that each person should receive the same income by physical standards. The argument in favor of this claim is that mental progress is assisted by favorable environment. Doubtless, as a general proposition, this is true; but it is also true that mental progress is under many and perhaps the majority of circumstances, retarded by an environment of carelessness and plenty. Of this complementary truth he takes no account. A little touch, showing how completely he neglects dynamic equilibria, is offered by his explanation of monasticism. Monks and nuns shut themselves up in order to escape from the evils of competition (p. 220). This doubtless was the reasoning of the church and he adopts it. In other words, collect a body of people of the same sex, shut them off from the world, give them plenty to eat, relieve them from care, and contrive, if you can, to get them to contemplate kindness and charity, and you will obtain as a result not only kindness, charity, and unselfishness, but progress and strong character! It must be said in justice to the consistency of Mr. Kelly, that the word "character" hardly appears

in his volumes. It is perfectly apparent that character is developed by competition and a moment's reflection will show that kindness and unselfishness can only flow from strong character. He does indeed say (p. 186), "It became inevitable, therefore, that those who had most power became masters of those who had most willingness; and as the faculty of power coupled with selfishness, inevitably goes to make up the lowest type of individualists, so the faculty of power coupled with unselfishness, goes to make up the highest type of socialist. We have thus within the same community, two kinds of social mind, one of which is by nature equipped to enslave the other." Of course, the unselfish ones are the many: "The docility and unselfishness of the many have delivered them over to the imperiousness and eagerness of the few" (p. 186). Statements of this sort are apt to correct themselves, and we find on page 188 that "the human environment by showering its blessings on the few rich has reduced the multitude to a condition of poverty which tends to promote neither a high standard of intelligence nor a high standard of morality." Can the multitude possess a low standard of morality and yet be unselfish? We are told (note 1, p. 225) that "selfishness" is used in the popular sense, not in any technical sense. The evolution of unselfishness backwards from the rich to the poor is rather hard to work out, as a theoretical proposition.

Turning to Mr. Kelly's economic ideas, we find that he considers that it is possible to regulate wages effectively (p. 107); that he considers the individual to be ground down by the "tyranny of the market" (p. 111 *et passim*); that competition lowers wages (p. 113); that liberty of contract leads to industrial slavery (p. 214) (this statement is made with reference to trade unions. Suppose trade unions raise wages?); that competition causes wars (p. 124); that it keeps prices and wages also down. The wage-earners, however, obtain no advantages from the low prices (p. 126). He thinks that competition causes partial overproduction, not clearly distinguished in this case, however, from total overproduction: in other words, he holds the socialistic theory of crises, that it is necessary for undertakers constantly to increase production in order to lower prices in order to escape competition (pp. 128, 129, 131, 149, 159). Further, the theory that workmen can change from occupations in which there is a falling demand to those in which there is an increasing demand, is untrue (p. 133); cheap foreign labor can undersell domestic labor (p. 136); the attainment of the altruistic or collectivist state is hindered by competition (pp. 155, 199), by militarism (p. 151), and by corruption, (p. 164).

What the author says on the subject of corruption is interesting and well worthy of attention. He lays special stress on the point that

"business interests make bad politics." It is doubtless this state of affairs in the city of New York that has thrown him clear over into ultra-communism as an ultimate ideal. He suggests that general education and enlightenment, accompanying his so-called collectivism, will cure corruption; but a more hopeful view of the case would be that education of the masses along the specific line of specialization of function is what is necessary in order to obtain civil service reform; and his elaborate collectivist machinery is nothing but straining at a camel in order to swallow the gnat of the merit system. Commercialism teaches selfishness (p. 195); in order to be free we must be economically free. Economic freedom, according to Mr. Kelly, consists in being sure of a living in return for four hours' work a day! Under the title "economic," the Standard Dictionary defines "economic freedom" as "a state in which one would not be obliged, in order to gain a livelihood, to do anything distasteful." Under this definition, is a man more likely to be free in Mr. Kelly's Collectivist Utopia or in wicked, competitive New York?

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Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz; Geschichte, Darstellung und Kritik. Von DR. EMIL KLÖTI. Pp. 480. Price, 6 marks. Berne: Schmid & Francke, 1901.

Switzerland, which is so often called the political laboratory of Europe, constantly puts the rest of the world under a debt of gratitude. The experiments which are going on in that compact little state may be studied profitably everywhere, and a democracy like our own can ill afford to close its eyes to the methods there being employed in the solution of great problems. No study in foreign government is likely to yield better returns to the investigator; and although the last few years have put us well forward in this work, we still have much to learn about the Swiss political system. The initiative and the referendum have claimed the attention of many students. Switzerland is pointed to by friends of proportional representation. The Swiss achievements in respect of this important reform are well set forth in the work under review. Dr. Klöti treats the subject with the greatest thoroughness and detail. He enters into each historical phase of the movement to introduce the reform in the various Swiss cantons. His minuteness, indeed, in this regard is so great that the book is made rather too ponderous for the foreign reader, and one yearns for a chapter somewhere which would bring the study into narrower compass. The work must for this reason have an interest that is in great

degree local, *i. e.*, Swiss, although as a book of reference for students everywhere it will be of value.

The Swiss have not come to their present development in proportional representation without a struggle. For many years clubs and societies of reformers were actively making propaganda for a system which would give minorities a just share in the government. They have achieved success in eight out of the twenty-two cantons, and are busily planning to capture the others whenever opportunity favors it. Very recently the people voted upon a "double initiative" to reform the federal electoral system in this respect. Signers were secured in favor of the submission of two different constitutional amendments, which, if they had been approved in the referendum, would have introduced the proportional system of representation into the federal practice. The vote was taken November 4, 1900. There were 169,008 yeas and 244,666 nays at the polling. Three-fifths of the citizens and eleven and one-half of the twenty-two cantons declared against proportional representation. It is a curious fact that two cantons, Neuchatel and Solothurn, which already use the system in cantonal matters, disapproved. As far as the nation is concerned, therefore, the movement has had a setback from which it is not likely to recover for several years.

Dr. Klöti distinguishes several systems by which it is aimed to give representation to minority parties, not only in the legislative but also in the executive and judicial departments of the government. Minority representation in the strict sense of the term he looks upon as a compromise, and its defects are clearly pointed out. There are two principal methods by which minorities may secure representation, by the non-proportional system: (1) limited voting; (2) cumulative voting. By the first method every elector votes for a definite proportion of the whole number of candidates who are to be chosen as one-third or one-half. The minority then is guaranteed a certain representation though what number is given it is purely a voluntary matter. It presumes only two parties, and, in our author's opinion, lacks "necessary elasticity." By the second-minority system—cumulative voting—every elector may dispose of as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, but he may distribute them at will. While the first system is regarded as an artificial weakening of the majority, the second is an artificial strengthening of the minority. Cumulative voting is also not without its disadvantages, for if a party overestimates its strength and puts forward too many candidates, the minority may sometimes gain a representative in the government out of proportion to its rights.

It is in the true proportional system that the author puts his faith;

his explanation and defence of this system, especially as it has worked out in the Swiss cantons, fill many pages of the volume. He discusses Hare's system of quotients and eventual candidates, and concludes, as most others have done, that without modification, it is much too complicated. The Swiss have introduced these modifications and have put the reform on such a footing as to recommend it for general adoption in other countries. It would seem still to be far from simple, and it is doubtful if it will make very rapid headway in the United States until certain organic difficulties are cleared away. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that we have lately made the most revolutionary changes in nearly all the states in the direction of ballot reform, and we seem to be on the eve of another great change, *i. e.*, from the paper ballot to the automatic machine. Ballot reforms touch only the surface. These reforms in the systems of representation go deep down to the root of the whole problem of suffrage. Is it fair and just that more than one-half of the electors should speak for the whole electorate? Would it not be more just and at the same time more expedient to give the various groups and parties in the electorate a representation in the government in proportion to their numerical strength? If this can be done conveniently and satisfactorily most people will favor the adoption of the proportional system of representation.

When only one officer is to be elected in a district as a governor in a state or a mayor in a city, it is manifest that the minority must be unrepresented. It is chiefly in the election of members of legislatures, councils and boards that proportional representation can be applied. The injustice of the present arrangement does not yet appeal to the great body of Americans. They are engaged in trying to correct other evils in the political body which press upon them more heavily. If there were powerful minority groups of socialists or ultramontanes or parties held together by ties of blood and race the injustice would seem more manifest. We may develop these and they may advocate proportional representation as a means of securing a voice in the legislatures, but the Anglo-Saxon solvent works so expeditiously in this country that our political differences are of other kinds.

"The present system," Dr. Klöti says, "is born of a spirit of intolerance. We do not feel it so in the manner and to the extent that it may be felt in some parts of Europe." It was Mirabeau who declared in 1789:

"Les assemblées représentatives peuvent être comparées à des cartes géographiques qui doivent reproduire tous les éléments du pays avec leurs proportions, sans que les éléments les plus considérables fassent disparaître les moindres."

This is an extremely democratic view born of the time of the French Revolution. Mirabeau and a large body of publicists not only in France, but also in America, in the latter half of the eighteenth century convinced themselves that all would be right if there were one large legislative assembly in which all classes were represented. No notion in government is farther from the truth. While it is desirable that the different classes should be properly voiced in the government it is a great deal more to the purpose that the representatives should embody wisdom, character and virtue in their own persons. They may represent whatever you choose, but if they do not have character within themselves, they will be of little credit to the constituency that sends them out or to the state in the larger sense. None of the world's great statesmen became great because he represented some particular faction in the electorate. Dr. Klöti is quite right, therefore, in his conclusion that it is self-evident (*selbstverständlich*) that proportional representation can create "no political Eldorado."

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Histoire de France, depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Par ERNEST LAVISSE, publiée avec la collaboration de MM. Bayet, Bloch, Carré, Coville, Kleincausz, Langlois, Lemonnier, Luchaire, Mariéjol, Petit-Dutailly, Rebelliau, Sagnac, Vidal de la Blache. Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1901.

There has been no satisfactory history of France. It is not necessary to point out in detail the faults of the existing works; no one of them represents in any way the results of the careful study of the last decades. There was an imperative necessity for the history to be rewritten in the light of our present knowledge.

This task has been undertaken by Lavisé with the assistance of the able scholars named above. It will be published in sixty-four fasciculi, and usually two of these will be issued each month, except during the summer vacations. The complete work will consist of eight volumes of about 800 pages each or, rather, sixteen half-volumes of 400 pages each. The price is only six francs a half volume. Thus far one-half of Volume I, the second half of Volume II, and the whole of Volume III have been published. These four half volumes average 430 pages each. The whole work will be completed probably in 1903.

M. Bloch in Volume I treats of "The Origins, Independent Gaul, and Roman Gaul." Nearly three-fourths of the space is given, fittingly, to the last subject. In reading this volume we are impressed by the skill with which the author has succeeded in condensing an enormous mass of material into what is relatively so small a space.

For instance, in eight pages he discusses very clearly and in detail the history, theory and system of direct and indirect taxation.

M. Luchaire has written the second half of Volume II and the first half of Volume III, which cover the periods from 987 to 1137 and 1137 to 1226, respectively. It would be a work of supererogation to point out his pre-eminent fitness for this task. By his previous study and writings he has made this field peculiarly his own. Volume II, part 2, is divided into two books: "Feudalism and the Church (eleventh century)" and "The French Renaissance (end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century)." In reading this volume the present reviewer has noted section after section as especially worthy of remark. But on running over his notes he has found that it would require a long review even to mention the subjects thus noted. The same statement is true of the two succeeding volumes.

Volume III, part 1, is divided into three books: "Louis VII," "Philip Augustus and Louis VIII," and "French Society (end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century)." The evolution of the Capetian monarchy is naturally the main subject and Philip Augustus is the central figure; to him 200 pages are given. The battle of Bouvines and its results occupy thirty-seven pages.

In Volume III, part 2, M. Langlois writes of the period from 1226 to 1328. The first two books discuss the political events from 1226 to 1285, and 1286 to 1328 respectively; the third book, about one-quarter of the volume, institutions and civilization. M. Luchaire has withstood temptation, and the heroic and saintly Louis IX. receives less space than Philip the Fair—as it is proper that he should. A quotation will illustrate the character of the last section of this volume, which is the most interesting. *Deux faits dominent l'histoire de l'activité intellectuelle au XIII^e siècle: la decadence de l'idéalisme et de la littérature artificielle, et le développement de l'esprit scientifique.*

Il y avait eu, au XII^e siècle, dans les écoles, une renaissance des lettres qui n'est pas sans analogie avec le mouvement plus célèbre, plus complet et plus fécond, de la Renaissance proprement dite . . .

Le XII^e siècle finissant avait paru désespérer de la raison: jamais les mystiques, contempteurs de la science et de la curiosité scientifique, n'ont été plus nombreux qu'au temps où l'école théologique du monastère de Saint-Victor de Paris fut dans sa gloire. Le XIII^e siècle, au contraire, le plus "intellectualiste" du moyen âge, a eu passionnément confiance dans la raison; il a essayé de savoir; il a voulu tout démontrer (p. 387).

All of the volumes are characterized by an extreme lucidity of statement, by a logical analysis which makes them easy to read and study. Cross-references which bind the various parts together are frequent

and are indicative of the careful editorial work. For each section a select bibliography of sources and secondary works is given. Thus this history becomes an invaluable guide to further study. There is a wealth of illustrative material from contemporary sources which emphasizes the general statements of facts. France is never treated as an isolated land, but its associations with the surrounding countries are kept constantly in mind. In particular much attention is given to institutions, literature, art, the life and thoughts of the people. The authors have succeeded in making the work *un tableau complet, bien que forcément abrégé, de la civilisation française*.

The most important defect, in our opinion, is that some statements, which seem open to doubt, are made absolutely and without reference to authorities. For example, M. Luchaire (Vol. III, part 1, p. 338) says: *À coup sûr, la corporation générale avait déjà son chef ou son directeur (capitale) en 1200, année où elle reçut du roi de France son premier privilège connu, car, dans cette charte, Philippe-Auguste comprend évidemment sous le nom de scolares, tout le personnel de la grande école parisienne, maîtres et étudiants.* Rashdall and others deny that *capitale* in the privilege of Philip Augustus means the chief of the students, and hold that it probably refers to the chattels of the students. In this, and in similar cases, the statement stands in need of defence, or a foot-note should be given indicating that other authorities do not hold the same view.

Although the collaborators have been, as a whole, so well chosen, we miss the names of some French scholars who seem especially fitted to participate in this work. The volumes have greater unity because each is written by a single author, but occasionally we regret that some special topic has not been treated by the student who is best fitted to discuss that particular theme. Some subjects which seem pertinent have not been treated as yet, but possibly, as in the case of the history of Christianity in Roman Gaul, these will find a place in a later volume. As a whole the history thus far is worthy of the highest praise. It represents the most accurate scholarship of the present day and is an absolute necessity to every student of French history.

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Life of the Emperor Frederick. Edited from the German of Margaretha von Poschinger, with an Introduction. By SIDNEY WHITMAN. Pp. xiv, 460. Price, \$2.50. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901.

In 1900 Margaretha von Poschinger published the last of three volumes devoted to the life of Frederick III., German emperor, and

embodying new information gathered from private and official documents. Of this work Mr. Sidney Whitman has issued an edition in one volume, omitting such portions of the original as seemed of little interest to English readers or savored too much of German patriotism. The result is a convenient and compact biography containing large numbers of original letters and papers, hitherto unprinted, and conveying an impression of the emperor's personality and political attitude that is in large measure new.

One-half of the volume is given up to purely domestic and personal details relating to the emperor's early life, his courtship and marriage, his historical and artistic activities, and his travels. Another quarter is given up to his military career. This leaves but a quarter of the work for a discussion of his political ideas and influences in which the reader will expect to find sensational revelations, if he has believed all the tales, which, as the outgrowth of the dramatic scenes of the emperor's brief reign and tragic death and the publication of his diary by Dr. Geffcken, have been current in the newspapers of the past thirteen years. But in this he will be disappointed. The book contains no "revelations." The reader will look in vain for evidence to support those traditions of the emperor's earlier career which accredited him with personal hostility for Bismarck, with attempts to thwart his policy, with a preponderating share in the erection of the German empire, or, in general, with the desire to inaugurate either openly or secretly a pro-English or parliamentary form of government. On the other hand he will find that Frederick, except when regent or emperor, though actively and eagerly interested in all that concerned the political welfare of Prussia and Germany, abstained at all times from interfering in affairs of state.

That Frederick had strong and definite opinions is of course to be expected. He was in the years of conflict in Prussia, from 1862 to 1865, a constitutionalist, distrustful of Bismarck and hostile to his policy; he was opposed to the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia, and even after the close of the Danish war supported the cause of Augustenburg, largely on personal grounds; he voted against war with Austria, at the council meeting of February 28, 1866, and did all in his power to preserve peace; and at first objected to the revival of the imperial title. But after the Austro-Prussian war his attitude underwent a change; he upheld Bismarck in the latter's desire that Austria should receive generous treatment, joined him in persuading the king to issue a complete political amnesty, after 1867 gave up his opposition to the assumption of the title of emperor by the king of Prussia, and after 1869 abandoned his objections to Bismarck's policy for German unity. He became, in fact, the champion of imperialism,

declared that he was ready to assume all the added responsibilities that it might entail, and put forth as his political program "a powerful German empire under the enlightened government of the Hohenzollerns."

During the regency of 1878, though called upon to govern according to his father's ideas and often to act contrary to his own convictions, he maintained a strictly correct attitude, and only in his dealings with the papacy was he able to outline a personal policy. His influence in inducing William I to sign the treaty of 1879 with Austria, commonly thought to have been considerable, is in this work reduced to a minimum, though the only evidence given by the author in support of her statement is the already known comments of Bismarck in his "Reflections and Reminiscences." The story of Frederick's three months' reign is simply told, without any attempt to rehearse the unhappy quarrels and recriminations arising from the emperor's sickness. A little space is devoted to the forced resignation of Bismarck's kinsman, von Puttkamer, because of official interference in the elections, but beyond that nothing is said. The book ends abruptly without summing up or general conclusion. But so ample is the information furnished in the body of the work that the reader is able readily to arrive at his own conclusions and to form, without further assistance, an admirable idea of the man whom the world has always admired and will admire none the less for this book.

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Bryn Mawr College.

The American Slave Trade. An Account of its Origin, Growth and Suppression. By JOHN R. SPEARS. Illustrated by Walter Appleton Clark. Pp. xvi and 232. Price, \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

That history in which exact and painstaking scholarship is linked with a readable and interesting style seldom sees the light of day. One has usually the choice between a dry catalogue of facts and a "popular" treatise. Mr. Spears book is distinctly popular, written in an easy, almost careless style and embellished with pictures, some striking and some curious, it is a volume which people will read. Its tone is high and the general impression given is a true one. Nevertheless one cannot help regretting that the element of scholarship was not more marked. There is a dogmatism about some alleged facts, an irregular massing of material and a lack of perspective and proportion in the work which is disappointing. For instance, we are told that "not one act passed by a colonial legislature showed any appreciation of the intrinsic evil in the [slave] trade or tended to extirpate it from

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the seas—not one" (p. 97); that it was wholly political policy, with no touch of philanthropy, that prohibited slavery in the new colony of Georgia (p. 96), and that Oglethorpe was "one of the most active participants" in the slave trade "known to his age." Again, some chapters, like the one on the international phase of slave-trade suppression, are more like catalogues or extracts from a note-book than careful essays.

The most valuable parts of the work are the anecdotes and tales of the trade, which are attractively written and calculated to interest. Such chapters as relate to "Old Time Slaver Captains and Their Ships," "The Slaver's Profit," "Tales of the Earlier Smugglers," etc., are much more readable than the historical chapters. There is a dangerous blending of history and fiction in the book that makes the reader not always certain of his ground.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

New York.—“*Consolidated Elections.*”¹ “Consolidated elections” is a term which has recently come much into vogue in the up-state districts of New York, and which is perhaps best defined by saying that it means the opposite of separate municipal elections. Until recently the city of Ithaca held its municipal elections in the spring. Ostensibly because of the extra expense involved in holding these elections separately, the Republican City Committee in the early part of this year called upon the assemblyman representing the Ithaca district at Albany to secure the passage of a bill “consolidating” or combining the city election with other elections. As it was understood at the time that the city election would be put in the fall of the odd years, and would thus be combined with the election of the short state ticket only, little or no opposition was made to this movement. But when the bill, which was of course a special measure and as such had to be submitted to the mayor and council of the city before final action was taken upon it, reached Ithaca, it was discovered that the city election had been shifted to the fall of the even years and would thus coincide both with elections for the full state ticket and with national elections.

Considerable opposition to the bill in its new form was immediately made manifest, and at a public hearing held on April 10, by the mayor and council, there was a very lively discussion regarding the bill itself, its origin and the circumstances under which the above-noted change was made. Those favoring the bill pointed out the saving to be effected by it, which was estimated at about six hundred dollars on each municipal election—no inconsiderable item in the budget of a city so small and with a tax rate so high as Ithaca. To the objection that city interests might be jeopardized if decision upon them were to be made at a time when the voters were under the influence of strong party feeling engendered by a hard-fought national or state campaign, the reply was that the voters of so enlightened a place were perfectly competent to keep the issues of the three-ringed political circus—national, state and municipal—sharply distinct in their minds and at the ballot-box. It was further argued that while the machine-led mass and the venal element could always be counted on to be on hand at any and all elections, there was, under the separate election system, a strong tendency among

¹ Contributed by Robert C. Brooks, Cornell University.

the best element of the city's voters to remain away from the polls during municipal elections, owing to the false notion that such elections are of small importance in comparison with state and national elections. This fact, it was claimed, gave the party boss greater power over the city under the separate system than he could hope to attain with combined elections.

The issue was decided in the council by a strict party vote and the bill has since received the signature of the governor. Similar movements have occurred recently in a number of other smaller municipalities in the state. Since most of these cities are normally republican, and since combined elections would usually favor that party in municipal affairs which had the larger regular following during national campaigns, there is more than a suspicion among those who uphold the separate system of elections that the movement was started "by authority."

New Orleans.¹—The wharves of New Orleans have for many years been leased to contractors who collected dues for wharfage and kept the wharves repaired, lighted and policed.

The lease has expired and the wharves have been placed under the management of a commission who propose to make New Orleans as near a free port as possible, and at the same time give good facilities for loading and unloading. The month of June, the dullest in the year, is the first month of the new administration.

The following comparative statement shows earnings of the Board of Commissioners of the port of New Orleans from wharfage dues on vessels arriving during the month of June, 1901, and the amount that would have accrued to the wharf lessees from said arrivals under the former rates:

	—Wharfage Accounts—		Reduction.
	Old Rate.	New Rate.	
Sea-going vessels . . .	\$17,658 56	\$10,155 55	\$7,503 01
Steamboats	1,048 32	786 24	262 08
Miscellaneous	692 84	519 63	173 21
Luggers	185 60	139 20	46 40
Transportation barges	1,033 28	774 96	258 32
Total	\$20,618 60	\$12,375 58	\$8,243 02

Wisconsin.²—*Municipal Charter Legislation in Wisconsin.* We have in Wisconsin what is known as the League of Wisconsin Municipalities. More than sixty cities, through their mayors, are connected with this organization. The city of Milwaukee stands in a class by itself and is not connected with the League of Municipalities. Our

¹ Contributed by B. R. Forman, New Orleans.

² Contributed by C. E. Monroe, Milwaukee.

cities generally operate under special charters, many of which are quite old. They date back to a time when it was easy to get the people out to vote and almost all of them provide for annual elections of mayor and aldermen. The powers of mayors are very limited. These features are true almost universally, but there are two cities—La Crosse and Oshkosh—whose charters give their aldermen a four years' term of office. In other features the various charters differ greatly among themselves. Feeling the disadvantage of these diversities in their organic laws and feeling also the weakness of many of their common features, an attempt was made to remove these disadvantages by means of a bill, which should be of uniform operation throughout the state. This provided for longer terms for municipal officers and added to the powers of the mayors. The first tentative bill was introduced in both houses of the legislature, and, when a discussion of its merits had shown its inapplicability to some of the municipalities affected by its provisions, a carefully drawn substitute was offered in its place. Curiously enough there were, in many quarters, objections to the extension of the terms of aldermen and mayors from one year to two. The final result of the effort of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities was the passage of an act extending the terms of elective administrative officers to two years.

Two bills were introduced in the Assembly which deserve mention. One of these proposed an amendment to that provision of the constitution of the state which limits the indebtedness of municipal corporations to 5 per cent of the value of the taxable property therein, so as to permit the incurring of additional indebtedness of 5 per cent for the purchase or construction of water or lighting works and such other public utilities as the municipalities may be authorized by law to own and operate. The bill was killed. The second bill, general in its application, was too novel and too good to succeed, and, consequently, suffered the fate of the other. It provided that "No ordinance for granting a franchise to perform a public service, or make use of public property, or for the extension of any existing franchise, shall be operative in any city in this state until after sixty days from the date of its passage; and if during such period of sixty days a number of qualified voters equal to 5 per cent of the total number of votes cast at the last preceding election in such city shall demand that the ordinance shall be submitted to a direct vote of all the voters, such ordinance shall not be valid or operative until it shall have been so submitted and approved by a majority of those voting upon it."

Another bill was introduced, the material section of which is as follows: "Power is hereby given to the common councils of cities and to the trustees of incorporated villages to alter franchises hereto-

fore or hereafter granted by such cities and villages to persons or corporations." The purpose was to put into the possession of municipalities a power of amendment of franchises which would enable them to overcome the plea of contract rights so generally urged by the donees of public grants. It was killed, of course.

A common provision of our municipal charters requires the publication of the terms of proposed grants of public franchises for a certain length of time in advance of action upon them by the common council, and where substantial amendments have been made in the original franchise, these also are required to be published in the same way. An effort has been made to do away with this requirement so far as it relates to the amended franchises, but this measure has failed to pass.

A certain class of bills, which is generally received with favor in our legislature, has met the unusual fate at this session of receiving the governor's veto after successfully running the gauntlet of both houses. These are bills through which the legislature attempts to interfere with local government by fixing or raising the compensation of local officers. A number of these were introduced at the present session, coming principally from the city and county of Milwaukee. The governor has put his veto upon the ground that matters, like these, of purely local interest should be decided by the local legislative authority.

Biddeford, Me.—Non-partisan Municipal Government.—Biddeford has a population of 16,500, about 2,800 voters and a valuation of \$7,000,000. The principal industries are the construction of cotton manufacturing machinery, giving employment to 1,200 men, and the manufacturing of cotton goods, in which about 3,500 people are employed.

Up to March, 1896, state and national politics entered largely into our municipal elections, first one party and then the other exploiting the city for party purposes. Contributions to the election fund were expected and received from party members, offices and profitable contracts naturally finding their way into the hands of the liberal contributors. Corruption at the polls and vote buying had become notorious. One man told me that he had helped put out \$2,200 in buying votes in one ward, and he thought the opposition had put out as much more in the same ward for the same purpose—that as much as \$100 had been paid for a single vote—and \$50 had frequently been paid. In the scramble, vote-sellers had come to number about 20 per cent of our voting population, while election days were noted for drunkenness and disturbances at the polls were not infrequent.

On January 31, 1896, according to our treasurer's report we had out-

¹ Contributed by Howard Hamilton, Secretary Citizens' Municipal Association.

standing notes and bonds amounting to \$486,300, or \$139,000 indebtedness beyond the legal limit of five per cent. In addition to the above, a large balance account was carried into the next year, and there were thousands of dollars worth of open accounts held against the city, the amount of which it took some time to ascertain.

In February, 1896, previous to our annual March election, a few of the leading men of both parties met to devise some means of ridding the city of the evils of partisan government, and formed a preliminary organization, which later became the Citizens' Municipal Association. This organization demanded that state and national politics should be absolutely eliminated from municipal affairs; that city officers be nominated and elected solely on account of their honesty and efficiency, and that municipal affairs should be conducted upon non-partisan and strictly business principles. The movement grew rapidly in numbers, nominations were made, equally divided between the best men of the two old parties, and endorsed by the Democratic party. After an exciting campaign, at an exciting election, the "citizen" candidate for mayor was elected by a good majority, while the ticket was elected in four of the seven wards, thus giving the "citizens" control of municipal affairs.

At the first inaugural of our "citizen" mayor he said in his address, "instead of a debt of \$486,000 we have a debt of nearly \$600,000, or 8½ per cent of our valuation." We were in condition to repudiate a large amount, but, to the credit of our citizens, repudiation was not thought of. It is not necessary to go into details as to the ways and means that were used to extricate the city from this predicament, but suffice it to say that every succeeding election has shown increasing faith in the principle of administering municipal government on a non-partisan and business-like basis.

In March, 1897, we re-elected our mayor by an increased majority and carried six of the seven wards. In 1898 and 1899 the "citizen" mayor was elected and all seven wards carried. In 1900, and again in 1901, there was no opposition to the "citizen" candidates, all officers of 1900 being re-elected in 1901. On January 31, 1901—the end of the fifth year of non-partisan administration—our treasurer stated in his annual report that the city's net indebtedness was \$355,400. Deduct this last amount from \$600,000 debt, as estimated by our mayor in March, 1896, and we show a reduction of our debt, in five years, of about \$245,000. During that same time the tax rate has been reduced 20 per cent.

In addition to the financial benefits that have been derived from this non-partisan movement, there are moral benefits resulting from the abolition of corrupt practices at the polls. Our example is being fol-

lowed by other cities of the state. Our neighboring city, Saco, has this year elected its first non-partisan city government, and the following towns in York County have also fallen into line and elected officers belonging to both the old parties, viz.: Old Orchard, Alfred, Lebanon, Shapleigh and Waterboro. It is proposed to extend this movement to the election of county officers.

Brooklyn.—*Special Legislation.*¹ The legislature of 1901 passed many bills affecting the city of New York as a whole, and a few measures applying exclusively to the borough of Brooklyn. Of the latter may be mentioned a bill providing for the depression of the tracks of the Long Island Railroad Company in Atlantic Avenue, partly at public expense. When Brooklyn was an independent municipality legislative authority for depressing the tracks was secured, but the expenditure of public money on the work was conditioned on the acquirement of a franchise for a tunnel to connect the existing terminal of the railroad with a point in Manhattan. There were difficulties in the way of getting the franchise, and the law was amended later so as to separate the track depression feature of the improvement from the tunnel scheme. Further amendments were proposed both last year and this. Mayor Van Wyck has vetoed all the amendments because he is opposed to the use of public money for the relief of the railroad. But the people of Brooklyn have insisted on the improvement of the street through which the railroad runs, and have persuaded the legislature to overrule the opposition of the city government. This is legislative interference from Albany at the earnest solicitation of the community interfered with. It is appeal from the home government to the government in Albany. The law as it now stands has removed all known obstacles in the way of improving the street.

Then again, the legislature has passed a bill providing for the opening of Bedford Avenue through a new district, on conditions different from those provided in the charter. The opened street will be something like a boulevard for the benefit of those who want to reach the sea by the most direct route. The owners of adjoining property thought that the city should pay a larger proportion of the cost of opening it and paving it with asphalt than was permitted by the charter, so they asked the legislature to provide that the city should pay two-thirds of the cost of the improvement. Again, in spite of the mayor's objections, the legislature granted the request of the interested people.

Charter Revision. The general revision of the charter has affected the borough of Brooklyn more than any of the special bills passed for

¹ Contributed by George William Douglas, Brooklyn.

specific purposes. Under the new charter, which is to go into effect next year, Brooklyn will have a greater degree of independence than under the old system of borough government. The borough president will be practically a commissioner of public works for the borough. He will appoint a commissioner of highways and a building commissioner, who will superintend the inspection of buildings and the laying of pavements. The local members of the Board of Aldermen will constitute a local board of improvement, and will have power to authorize various improvements, subject to the approval of the Board of Estimate and without consultation with the general Board of Aldermen. The plan provides for something like a confederation of municipalities rather than for an extremely centralized government. It is experimental and no one knows just how it will work in practice. There is hope, however, that it will facilitate the transaction of public business. While there has been decentralization in the exercise of the powers of the Board of Aldermen, there has been centralization of the control of the schools. There was strong objection to this plan in Brooklyn, and it is feared that it will not work satisfactorily because it puts the management of the local schools in the hands of men who can know little about their needs.

Denver.—*State Boards.*¹ According to the charter of the city of Denver, as at present in force, the Board of Public Works and the Fire and Police Board are appointed biennially by the Governor of the State of Colorado.

The Board of Public Works has "exclusive management and control of the construction, reconstruction and maintenance of all public and local improvements," including streets, sidewalks, sewers, bridges, viaducts, tunnels and the like, except "buildings used exclusively for fire and police purposes, or for hospitals or workhouses." For these purposes the Board has in charge the expenditure of money voted by the city council, the assessment of private property for local improvements and the issuing of bonds and warrants.

At the general city election of April, 1899, the tax-payers of Denver voted to authorize a bond issue of \$400,000 for the purpose of building an auditorium. The bonds were declared invalid by the Supreme Court on account of defects in the ordinance passed by the city council in March, 1899.

At a special election held on November 6, 1899, a bond issue of \$4,700,000 was voted for the purpose of acquiring a municipal water plant. The Board of Public Works proceeded to sell the bonds and obtained a first payment of \$100,000 on October 15, 1900. Before the second payment of \$100,000 became due the Board was served with an

¹Contributed by Prof. J. R. Le Rossignol, University of Denver.

injunction by the United States Circuit Court at the instance of the Denver Union Water Company. The injunction has been sustained for several reasons, and it is probable that the water bonds are invalid.

For these miscarriages the Board of Public Works has been severely blamed. It is claimed by the advocates of "home rule," who are many and influential, that state and federal politics are too intimately connected with the municipal affairs of Denver. They say that the Board of Public Works is notoriously wasteful, that taxation is too high, that there is much corruption, that local interests are sacrificed to political expediency, and that the general administration of the Board is bad and could hardly be worse.

The Fire and Police Board has control over the fire and police departments, grants liquor licenses and has power to suppress gambling and disorderly houses.

It is generally admitted that the fire department is efficient, but it is asserted that the police department is grossly incompetent and corrupt. On February 6, 1901, a detective on the police force was accused of having secured the release from prison of two women pickpockets. While denying the charge, the detective proceeded to accuse a police captain and two detectives of systematically protecting saloons, gambling places and disorderly houses, and of receiving money in return for this protection. The President of the Fire and Police Board at once ordered an investigation into the basis of these charges. The investigation continued daily from February 8 to February 16. In the course of the investigation sufficient evidence of a more or less incriminating character was adduced to show that there was no little corruption in the force. Captains, detectives and patrolmen were accused of the most flagrant neglect of duty, of complicity with criminals, of receiving money as blackmail from people of this class, and even of entering into partnership with them. The Board gave its decision on February 19. The members of the police force who had been accused, including two captains, three detectives and two patrolmen, were dismissed or asked to resign. The Board did not think the evidence sufficient to warrant the prosecution of the accused persons, but thought it wise to dismiss them for the sake of the efficiency of the force. It is possible that the charges were made largely at the instance of the political enemies of the Board, and it is not improbable that the investigation was made somewhat searching because of the approaching city election.

At the election, the regular members of the police force, together with special policemen enlisted for the occasion, were very active as partisans on the side of the "Fusion" or Democratic candidates.

Nevertheless, a majority of the Republican candidates, including the mayor, were elected. There is, therefore, now a division of executive power between the Republican mayor and Council and the Democratic Board of Public Works and Fire and Police Board. There will be a good deal of friction in the administration on this account, but the opposing forces may perhaps be trusted to watch one another closely, and thus to prevent or punish any flagrant misuse of power.

Home Rule.—The advocates of "home rule" succeeded in having two measures submitted to the State Legislature during the past session. One of these, the Rush bill, was passed. The other, the Parks bill, failed to pass. The latter bill proposed to give immediate home rule to Denver, by giving the mayor power to appoint the Board of Public Works and the Fire and Police Board. This measure was opposed by the politicians for obvious reasons. The Rush bill, which is now law, provides for submitting to the people of Colorado, at the next general election, an amendment to the constitution of the state, providing for the consolidation of the city of Denver with the county of Arapahoe, the whole to be known as the "City and County of Denver." This corporation is to have almost complete control of its own affairs. It is probable that the people will not vote in favor of this change.

*Montreal.*¹—*Framework.* The municipal framework of Montreal, as it exists to-day, plainly indicates a copying of English models modified somewhat by American ideas and conditions. At the same time there are one or two points which remind one very strongly of German methods.

To begin with, so far as its relations to the Provincial Parliament are concerned, the city is subject to the same vicious interference in every petty detail as are municipalities in most of the states. The distribution of power to the several provinces of the Dominion, instead of its centralization in the Dominion government itself, is probably responsible for the absence of the sound, sane, indirect governmental regulation of municipal affairs from central boards, which is so characteristic of Great Britain, as a similar decentralization is responsible for the presence of the evils which are so common in American cities. The Provincial Parliament can amend any section of the city charter, and more than that, can grant franchises without safeguarding the city's interests in any way. At the present time it is much more feared than the city council. The source of all power within the limits of the provisions of the city charter is the city

¹ Contributed by Francis H. McLean, General Secretary Charity Organization Society, Montreal.

council or board of aldermen. As in English cities the various departments of the city government are managed and controlled by aldermanic committees, which are of course responsible to the entire council. All officers are appointed through the council. The mayor, exercising a supervisory power, may suspend any officer for misconduct, but must immediately report his action to the council. There is not the slightest tendency observable to concentrate power in the hands of the mayor or to have the departments administered by separate boards or commissioners. City councils in Montreal have not been as superior in personnel as have those in England. There have been scandals and jobs and rings in them. Nevertheless, they have never dropped entirely below the plane of respectability and have done fair work, with some notable exceptions, through administrative committees.

Electoral Qualifications. The voting franchise in city elections is conditioned by property or rental qualifications, in addition to the usual limitations. Ownership of property assessed at \$300, or rental of premises which brings in a sum of thirty dollars per year or more is required of all. Tenants are given the same rights as proprietors because they are subject to a water tax amounting to 7½ per cent of the rental value of the property they occupy. Owing to the low rental value necessary to qualify, practically every tenant is a possible voter. The classes which are definitely excepted are lodgers, roomers, boarders, guests in hotels, etc. It will be seen that the possibility of colonization is reduced to zero. A tenant cannot qualify unless he has occupied his rented premises for a number of months previous to the election. All paid employees of the city are debarred from voting, thus doing away with another possible source of corruption. Any one whose property, water or business license tax becomes overdue cannot vote during the term of such delinquency. If any such tax is remitted the disqualification continues until a subsequent tax is paid. Most interesting of all, a property owner may qualify as a voter in every ward in the city if he has sufficient immovable property in each. If he qualifies in more than one ward he can vote for mayor only once, but may vote in each such ward for the aldermen. This reminds one strongly of German municipal electoral systems.

At the general municipal election property owners and rent payers may vote. In special elections, principally affecting property rights, the city council may limit the voting lists to property owners or not as it chooses. If, however, it asks for a special loan in excess of the funded debt limit only property owners may vote. To emphasize the basic principle that the franchise comes through the ownership or rental of property—spinsters and widows may qualify, and husbands

who cannot qualify may vote for their wives, who can. As a matter of fact very few women attempt to vote.

Qualifications for Office. In order to be eligible for the position of mayor, the assessment rolls must show that the candidate owns immovable property to the value of \$10,000 above encumbrances. For alderman, property to assessed value of \$2,000 is required. Not only must the assessment rolls show title to property so valued at the time of election, but any such officer is subject to immediate removal, if at any time during his term of office it can be proved that he does not still possess the qualification.

Montreal's Debt. Montreal's funded debt at the end of 1899 amounted to eighteen and one-tenth per cent of the total assessed valuation of all the taxable property on the rolls. This extraordinarily heavy debt burden is largely caused by the undertaking of very extended street improvements not justified by the rate of increase in the tax rolls; and also because the tax rate upon immovable property is limited to one per cent. As to the first cause. The street laws of Montreal are peculiar in that the brunt of the burden of widening and paving streets is borne by the city as a whole and not by the adjoining property. Even after the reforms in this regard introduced in the new city charter of 1899, the following unfavorable conditions remain :

1. *Expropriation of property and widening* of any street may be declared by a three-fourth's vote of the Council, with the approval of the mayor, to be a general improvement. If so declared the costs are met from the General Fund. Other widenings may be ordered upon petition of a majority of the property owners and then the costs are borne entirely by them. The assessment *district* plan appears to be unknown. 2. In *paving the streets* it is permissive for the council to order half the expenses to be borne by the adjoining property. As a matter of fact it has never yet been done but the entire costs are paid from the city's funds. 3. One-half costs of *permanent sidewalks* falls upon property owners, one-half is assumed by the city. 4. For *ordinary street mains and laterals* the costs are borne entirely by the property owners.

That in the main the responsibility for street improvements is considered to rest upon the city is indicated by the fact that it acts as a surety or endorser for property owners delinquent in the payment of street assessments. Instead of forcing the contractors to obtain judgments through the courts it pays them the full amount of the delinquencies by means of floating bond issues and then itself sues. How serious a burden this is, is indicated by the fact that on December 31, 1899, the city was endeavoring to recover

through the courts over \$762,000, due from owners and covered by bonds.

What might be expected under this system actually happened. It furnished the opportunity for the satisfaction of a wild craze for street improvements which took hold of the city council in 1888 and did not leave it until 1895. During that short period of seven years the funded debt of the city rose from \$11,270,101 to \$25,046,341. No large public improvements were undertaken outside of street work. It is certain that the increasing valuation of real estate did not justify the very large accretions to the city's debt and that the temptation afforded by a system which so often obviated protesting property owners and in many other cases appeased them by liberal assistance from the city was one quite likely to result in lavish expenditures.

It may be claimed that as this over-liberality embodied itself in the shape of permanent improvements it will in the end justify itself. The trouble, however, is that it has piled up such a heavy debt against a permanent fixed tax-rate, that the city since 1895 has had to be administered with destructive parsimony. Renewals and repairs have not been made when they should, and the result has been very costly to the city. In 1896, two-fifths of the income of the city went to meet interest charges on bonds. Besides that it has not left opportunity for normal growth as the local conditions change. Improvements have been made in some quarters years ahead of time while in fast-growing localities necessary betterments have been postponed to the indefinite future. The rage has been all the more costly because of the peculiar race conditions. The east end of the city is practically a French section and the west end an English-speaking section. There is still much jealousy existing between the two sections and in the council the only way it can be allayed is by balancing the improvements made by the city in each quarter. If a street is widened or paved in one quarter, that improvement must be offset by the widening or paving of a street in the other quarter. Such a policy may furnish an object lesson in diplomacy but it is not economical. Certain wise amendments have been made in the new city charter but it will be some time before property owners are educated up to the new ideas. They are realizing, however, that their heavy debt so suddenly increased is responsible for filthy, unkempt, unswept streets, for sewers in bad repair, for a badly equipped fire department and for numerous other evils.

Revenues. The funded debt might not have increased to such proportions had it not been that the city was committed to a one per cent limit on the taxation of real property exclusive of school tax—a limit maintained in the new charter. This is the chief tax imposed

but there are two other very important ones—a tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual rental value of all occupied houses and buildings for water rates and a tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual rental of business premises known as the business license tax. In the year 1899 these three taxes yielded the following sums:

$1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent on real property (general and school tax)	\$1,666,690.77
Water Tax— $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of annual rental values	721,036.32
Business License Tax— $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of annual rental val-	

ues (including personal property taxes) 268,927.74

As to present financial condition. Under the terms of the new city charter all the various funded debts were combined into the Consolidated Debt of \$27,000,000. This was fixed as the permanent debt limit until such time as that sum shall not exceed 15 per cent of the assessed valuation of the taxable property of the city. Then 15 per cent shall be the limit. As was indicated above, this point has not yet been reached, the debt still exceeding 18 per cent of the total valuation of real property which in 1899 was \$149,248,485. In the interim the council may issue bonds to a limited amount based on 10 per cent of the annual increases in the assessment valuations from year to year, for permanent improvements only. This power shall cease when the 15 per cent limit above mentioned has been first reached. The city council is also empowered to take a vote of the property owners as to whether bonds shall be issued for other special purposes. It is doubtful if this power will be of much practical value as the extravagance of preceding years in street improvements has been followed by an absurdly extreme conservatism. Only a short time ago a proposition submitted for the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$100,000 for adequately equipping the Fire Department was defeated at the polls, the total vote representing less than 10 per cent of the property owners—this despite the fact that fire insurance rates have been advanced very heavily lately in the business section owing to the condition of the department.

Havana.—*Organization of the City Government.*¹ The municipal government is regulated at present by the municipal law of 1878, with the amendments to the said law ordered from time to time by the military governor. The Municipal Council (*Ayuntamiento*) is composed of twenty-four councilmen (*Concejales*), being elected by popular vote. Minority representation (limited vote) and the Australian ballot have been adopted. Electors registered in May, 1901, numbered 27,305. Voters at the municipal elections must possess the following qualifications: (1) The voter must be a native male Cuban,

¹ Contributed by Señor don Antonio Govin, Professor of Administrative Law in the University of Havana.

or the son of a native male Cuban, born while his parents were temporarily residing abroad, or a Spaniard included within the provision of Article IX of the Treaty of Paris, who has not made declaration of his decision to preserve his allegiance to the Crown of Spain. (2) He must be of the age of twenty-one years or upward on the day preceding the day of election. (3) He must have resided in the municipality at least thirty days immediately preceding the first day of registration; and in addition to the above he must possess any one of the following qualifications: (a) Ability to read and write. (b) Ownership of real or personal property to the value of \$250, United States currency. (c) Service in the Cuban Army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom, whether a native Cuban or not. No person shall be qualified to vote who is insane or an idiot, or who is a resident in, or supported by, any public charitable institution, or who is deprived of, or suspended from, the exercise of his political rights by sentence of a court, except in cases where the conviction is for a crime of a political character. No person shall be a candidate for office in any municipality, unless he is a qualified elector of that municipality and is able to read and write.

Municipal Council. The term of office is one year and all the councilmen retire from office at the same time (on July 1). The office is gratuitous, obligatory and honorary. At its first meeting the new Municipal Council proceeds with the election of two councilmen who, under the name of Advocate-Syndics (*Procuradores Sinduos*), are to represent the corporation in all the suits which may be instituted in the defence of the municipal interests, and revise and audit all the local accounts and budgets. At its second meeting, the Municipal Council fixes the number of standing committees into which it is to be divided, entrusting to each one of them all the general business of one or more of the branches which law places in its charge. There are four committees: Budget and Accounts; Ways and Means; Urban Police; Charities and Correction. The Municipal Council is a financial administrative body and may only exercise the functions entrusted to it by law. The government and administration of all special municipal interests are under its jurisdiction. It appoints and removes all the employees and clerks paid with municipal funds and which are necessary for the fulfillment of the services entrusted to it. The council has a secretary, selected by the corporation, which office is incompatible with all other municipal offices, the salary being \$3,500 a year.

The Executive. The mayor (*Alcalde*) is elected by popular vote. The term of office is one year, the salary, \$6,000 a year. Five deputy mayors (*Fenientes de Alcalde*) are selected by the Municipal Council, from among the councilmen. The office is honorary. The mayor is

the representative of the government and as such is to exercise all the powers entrusted to him by the laws under the direction of the governor of the province in all that refers to the publication and execution of the laws and general provisions of the Central Government. The mayor, who is the president of the Municipal Council, bears its name and represents it in all matters with the exception of the powers granted to the Advocate-Syndics. Furthermore, as the chief of the Municipal Administration, he has the following powers and duties: to publish, execute and order the approved resolutions of the Municipal Council; to suspend the execution of resolutions of the Municipal Council when questions are involved which, according to law, do not come under its jurisdiction; to direct all that relates to the urban and rural police; to direct and supervise the conduct of all the employees of the urban and rural police, punishing them with suspension from office and salary, not to exceed thirty days; to exercise all the duties proper to the office of supervisor and chief of the investment of municipal funds and of its accounting system. Deputy mayors, in their respective sections, should always act by delegation and under the direction of the mayor. The city is divided into forty wards. In each ward there is a *prefect*, who is appointed and removed by the mayor. He must possess the qualifications of an elector.

Finance. There is a treasurer, elected by popular vote, with a salary of \$3,000 a year. He draws up the annual budget, the report of the Advocate-Syndic being required. The Municipal Board may propose amendments to the budget. This body is composed of the Municipal Council and of associate members in equal number with councilmen, appointed from among the taxpayers of the municipal district. The budget must be approved by the Municipal Council.

Budget 1901-02. Expenditure: \$2,248,197.83, United States currency. Revenue (main branches): municipal property, \$139,143.38; land tax, \$750,251.94; trade tax, \$752,600. Tax rate, three per cent on rural real property; nine per cent on urban real property. Debt, \$12,253,-931.22. The collection and administration of the municipal funds are in charge of the Municipal Council and take place through their agents and delegates. The distribution and investment of the said funds are resolved upon every month by the Municipal Council, subject to the budget. Payments are ordered by the mayor.

Centralization. According to the Cuban constitution, there is no relation between the city administration and the Republican Legislature. The local government is to be regulated by general laws. The municipality is autonomous.

Population. The population of Havana according to the census of 1899 was 242,055.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Theory of Imitation in Sociology.—In an article contributed to the April number of *Mind* by Sydney Ball, and in another to the May number of the *American Journal of Sociology* by Dr. Ellwood, recent contributions to sociological literature are analyzed and criticised. Dr. Ellwood considers the theory of imitation in social psychology, and after discussing and comparing the work of Professor J. Mark Baldwin and Mr. Tarde, he concludes that the shortcomings of the theory of imitation as the method of social organization and progress are: "(1) It cannot sufficiently explain the manifest limitations in the process of imitation without introducing other factors in the method of development; (2) it creates a gulf between human society and the societies of the animal world which are organized upon a basis of instinct; (3) it makes no allowance for the process of natural selection to bring about gradual changes in human society; (4) it rests upon no sufficient basis of ascertained facts, but has apparently been built up by a fallacious method of reasoning. In general, our criticism of the imitation theory is that it makes the social process something apart from the life process. It does not link, in any definite way, the forces which are moulding human society to-day with the forces which have shaped evolution in the past."

Sydney Ball discusses current sociology based upon the recent contributions of Alengry, Tarde, Baldwin, Bosanquet and Giddings. He considers the question "Is it (sociology) really a science, or is it more than a name for a science which may or may not some day come into existence?" Giddings believes "that the time has come when its principles, accurately formulated and adequately verified, can be organized into a coherent theory." This the writer denies, claiming that the contributions to sociological theory have been merely essays "to find the handle of a science." Alengry comes out with a cry back to Comte. He criticises Comte's point of view, claiming that his great error consisted in emphasizing the laws of succession as compared with those of coexistence. In the diverse character of the sociological literature of the present the author finds the only thing in common to be the rejection of the biological method. Emphasis is now put upon the psychological interpretation of social phenomena, and the writer devotes considerable attention to Baldwin and Tarde. The work of the latter is mentioned as a protest against the identification of sociology with the philosophy of history. The work of the psychological school is described as an endeavor to find a unifying

principle to which the complex social phenomena may be reduced. Tarde looks for imitation to do for sociology what the infinitesimal calculus does for mathematics. Giddings finds the fundamental sociological element to be consciousness of kind. The writer argues that the theories based upon imitation or consciousness of kind are theories rather of association, or of contact between individuals, than of society as such or of society organized as a state. "The process of social organization is not one of imitation, but of adjustment of members in and to a social whole." In answer to the question propounded at the outset the author concludes that "a careful study of professedly sociological literature, interesting and suggestive as it often is, has only confirmed my conviction that sociology has still got to make good its scientific pretensions, and more especially its claim to absorb ethics and economics, to say nothing of other studies."

After such a careful canvass of sociological literature one is not a little disappointed at the conclusion expressed by the writer. The answer to the question as to whether sociology is or is not a science naturally depends upon what we mean by science. The representatives of the so-called exact sciences have always doubted the propriety of dignifying by the name of science any other body of knowledge than that represented by themselves. As a matter of fact different degrees of certainty exist in different fields of knowledge, and the degree of certainty necessary to delimit "science" from speculation is a question of terminology, that is an academic question of little or no consequence. Sociology is now going through the stage which all sciences have or must pass through. It is generally recognized that there is a great field for investigation here, and that the most successful methods employed must be determined by a process of elimination. This process is going on now in sociology, and to a greater or less extent in all sciences. There is nothing new in this, and it is to be regretted that so much effort is wasted in an endeavor to determine whether sociology is or is not a science. In this connection it is interesting to compare the aims of the writers of the articles just considered. Dr. Ellwood considers a contribution to sociological theory, endeavors to give it due credit, and criticises its shortcomings without bothering himself about whether sociology is or is not a science. Mr. Ball considers contributions from different schools of sociology, endeavors to state their shortcomings, and then upon the basis of this he solves the problem for himself as to whether sociology is or is not a science. Granting that sociological investigations will be pursued until it is generally agreed that sociology is a science, it is not at all likely that future writers will waste much effort in determining at just what stage their study achieved its enviable position.

The Gaming Instinct is the title of an excellent article by Dr. W. I. Thomas, in the May number of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Locomotion is described to be "primarily to enable the animal to reach and grasp food, and also to escape other animals bent on finding food." With "the survival of the most efficient structures," there is developed on the psychical side an interest in the conflict situation as complete and perfect as is the structure itself." Further on we are told that "there could not have been developed an organism depending on offensive and defensive movements for food and life without an interest in what we may call a dangerous or precarious situation." Since the cultural period of life is short in comparison with the prehistorical epoch, there has been consequently but little structural change in the organism to be recorded.

The experience of the reader is appealed to as evidence that conflicts such as matches, games and fights contribute our chief amusements. In frontier districts feuds are still resorted to, not so much because there are no other means of settling disputes, but because they are the most interesting methods. In the development of culture, when skill and cunning came in to supplement brute force in combats the interest was in no wise diminished. In social rather than in individual contests an increasing interest centres. The aim in mechanical inventions is to secure an advantage over nature, and primitive man took almost as much interest in them as in the direct contests themselves. From this point of view the interests of such men as Newton, Helmholtz and Darwin are considered to be identical with those of the inventors of primitive force appliances.

As long as man was in a state of nature his activities were not irksome. The new adjustments which the scarcity of game and the density of population brought about, made his activities more mechanical, habitual and tiresome, but his existence became less precarious. While the habits of industrial society are painful, the consumption of the products of labor is pleasurable. How superficial these race habits are may be seen in the occasional relapse of rich men's sons with the removal of the pressure of need. Tramps and criminals have failed to adjust themselves. Gambling is fascinating because it keeps up conflict activity without drudgery. In business the gaming instinct is expressed in the preference for work where shrewdness is involved, and where there is great uncertainty of success. The gaming instinct is still more expressed in practically monopolizing man's attention during periods of recreation. The article is suggestive and interesting throughout.

The Mathematical Method and von Thünen.—At the International Congress of Instruction in Social Sciences held at Paris last

year, Dr. Leon Winiarsky, of the University of Geneva, read an interesting report on the Teaching of Theoretical Economics in Switzerland. Dr. Winiarsky maintains that Cournot was the first rigorously scientific economist, inasmuch as Cournot, in 1838, first clearly indicated the application of the mathematical method to political economy. Although the matter of priority on this point is scarcely of primary scientific importance, yet credit should be given to whom credit is due; Johann Heinrich von Thünen certainly deserves to be mentioned with Cournot, and perhaps before Cournot, as introducing mathematical methods of investigating social problems.

The first edition of the first part of Thünen's remarkable "*Isolirter Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie*" was published in 1826. It was characterized by all the essential qualities which since then have earned for its author the uniform appreciation and praise of the historians of economic doctrine. As Rodbertus declared, "von Thünen brought two things into political economy: *figures*, and *formulae*, and *heart*; he united the most exact method with the most humanitarian sentiments—gifts which are rarely joined." Far more important, however, than Thünen's methodological attitude, is the nature of the theories to which his formulæ led him. In an essay published in 1896 on Thünen's theory of value, I attempted to show that he not only, with the aid of mathematics, developed the theory of final utility in all its essential parts as determinative of economic value, but proceeding further upon this theory as a basis, built up a complete doctrine of distribution, including theories of rent, wages, interest and profit—theories which bear a remarkable likeness to the doctrines propounded by modern economists of the marginal utility school.

The historians of economic doctrines have generally made no mention of these Thünen theories; they have, as a rule, confined themselves to a eulogious mention of his more accurate formulation of the Ricardian land-rent theory and a cursory criticism of Thünen's theory of ideal wages. Indeed, some of them, like Roscher, have confused Thünen's theory of ideal wages (wages as they would be regulated in an ideal economic state) with his entirely different and independent theory of actual wages, as they are determined under existing circumstances.¹

¹ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Philadelphia.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Accident Insurance in Holland.—The American Minister at The Hague reports to the Department of State a measure which has passed the States General of the Netherlands and has received the royal sanction providing that employers in certain branches of labor shall insure their employees against pecuniary losses consequent on accidents which may happen to them in the execution of their trade.

The costs in the first instance are advanced by the State Treasury. The employer, however, is to contribute according to the class in which his trade is placed toward the working expenses of the State Insurance Bank in proportion to the wages of his employees.

Attachment of Wages in France.—The French Office du Travail has supplied one of the American Consuls with information concerning the attachment of workingmen's wages in that country. The Minister of Commerce has recently had occasion to make an inquiry among large employers as to their opinion of the law now in force on the subject under which law the wages of workmen can be attached only to one-tenth of their amount. Some of the employers were in favor of entirely abolishing the attachment of workmen's wages, in view of the fact that, no matter how simplified the mode of procedure might be, the costs are heavy and are at the charge of the debtor. It appears that the expense sometimes reaches one thousand per cent of the amount involved. Many of the replies received by the Minister of Commerce insist upon the pecuniary and moral advantages which would result from the decrease of credit if the possibility of attachment were removed. The facilities and temptations of spending would be much reduced and the workmen would learn habits of order and economy. Those in favor of the law argue that the attachment of wages is the financial basis of credit for the workman. Out of 817 replies 69 only were in favor of maintaining the law as it stands; 57 more were in favor of maintaining the law, but proposed other reforms; for instance, that the attachments should be possible only for debts contracted for necessities.

Recent Appointments in Charitable Societies.—Among recent appointments in charitable agencies have been the following:

Mr. Charles F. Weller, General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Washington, D. C.

Mr. Lawrence Veiller and Mr. James F. Jackson, Assistant Secretaries of the New York Charity Organization Society, the former in special charge of the work of the Tenement House Committee, and

the latter in special charge of the work of the Committee on Dependent Children.

Mr. S. H. Stone, Superintendent of the State Board of Children's Guardians of New Jersey.

Dr. William H. Allen, Secretary of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association.

Dr. S. H. McLean, Superintendent of the Illinois State Asylum for Feeble Minded Children.

C. and N. W. Pensions.—The Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company have adopted a plan for pensioning employees who have fulfilled certain conditions, entirely at the expense of the company. In this respect it is unlike all beneficiary or insurance plans to which employees are contributors.

The plan provides for the retirement upon a pension of all employees seventy years of age or older, who have been at least thirty years in the service of the company. All employees sixty-five years of age and under seventy, who have been employed by the company for thirty years or more, and who may become incapacitated, may be retired and pensioned at the discretion of the company's pension board.

The amount of the pension will depend upon the length of service and the amount of pay received by the employee. The monthly allowance to each pensioner will be for each year of service one per cent of the average regular monthly pay for the ten years next preceding retirement. Thus no person will receive less than thirty per cent of his salary. A man whose average monthly pay for the ten years next preceding his retirement was \$100, and the years of whose service were 31.5, would receive a monthly pension amounting to 31.5 per cent of \$100, or \$31.50.

Municipal Sanitation in the United States.—Dr. Charles V. Chapin, the Superintendent of Health, of Providence, R. I., has just published a book of some nine hundred and fifty pages on "Municipal Sanitation in the United States." This book is comprehensive in its scope, and should be of value to local health officers in different parts of the country as well as to all persons interested in sanitary matters. Among the different topics dealt with are the following: The best methods of collecting and keeping birth, marriage and death statistics; methods of dealing with nuisances of every kind; full references to the different laws in different states throughout the country, in many cases with samples of the blanks and forms used in the different health departments. One chapter is given up to the subject of organization of boards of health and similar bodies; another to the question of plumbing, going into plumbing codes, the licensing of plumbers, state and municipal laws, etc.; another deals with the question of

water supply, impurities of water, municipal ownership, river pollution, sewage disposal, etc.; another is given up to the inspection of food supplies and the question of adulterated food; while another entire chapter is devoted to the question of dairy products, milk inspection, etc.

Boards of Children's Guardians in Indiana.—The legislature of Indiana has passed a bill authorizing the establishment of Boards of Children's Guardians in all counties of the state. Such boards have been in existence in the four largest counties of the state, but their establishment has heretofore been limited to the four counties having a population of more than fifty thousand. Each board is to consist of six persons, three of whom shall be women. They are to be appointed by the County Circuit Court and serve without compensation. Their duties are very similar to those exercised elsewhere by societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Special Schools for Crippled Children.—Superintendent E. G. Cooley, of the public schools of Chicago, states that there are two hundred crippled children in that city, of whom but forty are at present receiving instruction. It is the hope and intention of the Board of Education to provide schools which may be accessible to all these unfortunates. At present there is one school of this kind, consisting of three rooms, and having a membership of forty-three pupils. The children are transported to and from the school by means of 'busses furnished by the Board of Education. The teachers have general supervision of the physical wants of the children. Similar facilities are already provided also in New York, but not as a part of the public school system.

The Casier Judiciaire in France.—Ferdinand Dreyfus, who is a leader in various philanthropic societies in France, has published a recent volume entitled *Misères Sociales et Études Historiques*, in which he pays much attention to various aspects of crime and mendicity; he writes not as an indifferent observer, but as one who is practically grappling with the problems he discusses. One chapter is devoted to the *Casier judiciaire*, the technical term in French for the judicial record of every citizen. Whenever a French citizen is condemned to any penalty by a tribunal the clerk sends to the court of the place in which the person was born a statement of the offence and the penalty. This is filed alphabetically for ready reference. Any future condemnations are recorded on the same paper, so that the criminal record of any person may be seen at a glance. This method is of undoubted value for police purposes, and also in giving the judges the information they need as to the previous career of any accused person. But the record, having been hitherto accessible to

the public, has been used greatly to the detriment of men who have made mistakes in early life. The public has not been permitted to forget it in later years. Many pathetic instances are related by Mr. Dreyfus of the way in which lives have been blasted through the persecutions made possible by access to the *Casier judiciaire*. Recent changes have been made in the law for the protection of discharged prisoners who have become re-established in society and are living honorable and industrious lives. Under the revised law the original information is accessible only to certain designated authorities, and when a discharged prisoner, or one placed on probation, has lived a certain time without incurring a new condemnation he may be restored to his full rights as a citizen and the early record may be effaced.

College Settlement Fellowship.—The College Settlements Association has established a fellowship of \$400 for the year 1901-02. The object of this fellowship is to open to a well-qualified person the opportunity afforded by settlement life for investigation of social questions or for training in philanthropic and civic work, or both. No requirements are made beyond residence in a settlement during the academic year, and the pursuit of some clearly-defined line of work, scientific or practical, under the general guidance of a special committee of the association and of the headworker of the settlement selected. The time may, with the approval of the association, be divided between different settlements. The Fellowship is awarded solely on the basis of the promise of future usefulness. Miss E. G. Balch, Prince Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass., is Chairman of the Committee in charge of the Fellowship.

Psychopathic Hospitals.—Minnesota has taken the lead in establishing a detention hospital for doubtful cases of insanity. A psychopathic hospital of this kind will be likely to have doubtful cases which are of great clinical interest, requiring careful observation and treatment.

There is a proposition to turn over the detention hospital, which is now attached to Bellevue Hospital in New York City, to the State Lunacy Commission with the purpose of affording the Commission a similar opportunity for clinical study of doubtful cases, but Dr. P. M. Wise, late president of the Lunacy Commission, in a letter to the *Charities Review* for June, attacks this measure.

The National Conference at Washington.—The National Conference of Charities and Correction, which convened in Washington, D. C., May 9-15, was attended by more than six hundred registered delegates. The papers and discussions in all departments of the work of the Conference were interesting and profitable; and the Conference as a whole must be regarded as one of the most successful yet held.

The exceptionally intelligent conception of the function of the Conference shown in the address of welcome delivered by Honorable H. B. F. Macfarland, president of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; the election of the Chinese minister to honorary life membership in recognition of his address at the closing session; and the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Census Bureau in securing such modification of the law as will permit the collection of statistics of charities and corrections, are among the incidents of the Conference worthy of special mention.

At the opening session the principal addresses were delivered by Rev. S. G. Smith, of St. Paul, and Mr. Jacob A. Riis, of New York. Dr. Smith sought to demonstrate that environment, *i. e.*, physical environment, has been "overworked," as accounting for degeneracy, and insisted upon the psychical features of the environment as of greater moment for good or for ill.

In the conference sermon, Rev. George Hodges traced the coming of the Era of Compassion. The heart of the new progress was declared to be the recognition of the individual. The essential thing is friendship. The chief thing that can be accomplished by the discussions of the Conference is the betterment of friendship, so that men shall go back to their work in a more fraternal spirit, putting their hearts into it, and lifting up those who are down, as Jesus did, by giving them a friendly hand.

One of the most useful features of the national conference is the reports from states prepared by Mr. H. H. Hart, the secretary of the conference, in correspondence with state secretaries throughout the United States and Canada.

The *Charities Review* for June contains a concise report of the Washington Conference, and a summary of the charity legislation of the current year.

State Activities in Relation to Labor.—Dr. W. F. Willoughby, of the United States Department of Labor, has revised and brought into a single monograph various reports and papers on the subject of state activities in relation to labor in the United States, and has published them as one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. The papers constituting this monograph present in an interesting way the action of the American states in relation to labor.

This action is divided into two distinct classes, *viz.*, one in which the intervention of the state is limited to the mere enactment of laws, and that in which the state itself undertakes through the executive branch of its government to perform certain work. The present monograph is restricted to a consideration of the second of these two classes. The

chapters deal successively with Bureaus of Statistics of Labor, Employment Bureaus, the Inspection of Factories and Workshops, Regulation of the Sweating System, the Inspection of Mines and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration. The most important fact noted in the legislation of all of the states in connection with the last mentioned subject is that not the slightest attempt has been made to introduce the principle of compulsory arbitration. Although the Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration have not obviated strikes and may even not have been as effective as it was hoped that they would be, the author appears to share the general opinion that the boards have proven to be useful institutions. The following estimate is quoted with approval:

"They (the boards) accomplish much more than they actually decide. Their work is largely preventive. They remove the last excuse for gratuitous resort to industrial warfare by employer or employee. They lend official dignity to all important principles of peaceful negotiation. They menace the guilty with the displeasure of public opinion, which is nowadays more and more backed by money as well as morals, and they strengthen the weak with the hope of aid against oppression. They stand for a generous recognition of industrial liberty as opposed to class theories of compulsion. In the official organ of impartial investigation they also remove the last excuse for unwise and unintelligent meddling on the part of public opinion."

The New York Summer School in Philanthropic Work.—The Summer School in Philanthropic Work, conducted by the New York Charity Organization Society, closed its fourth annual session on July 26. The course, which continued six weeks, included a series of morning addresses, in which specialists from leading cities took part, practical studies into social conditions in New York City, visits to families, under the direction of the agents of the Charity Organization Society, visits to typical institutions illustrating the topics discussed, and the preparation of a series of reports by members of the school upon the several problems involved in charity work. Among the speakers who presented the point of view of the Charity Organization Society were the general secretaries from several cities: Miss Zilpha D. Smith, of Boston; Mr. Frederic Almy, of Buffalo; Miss Mary E. Richmond, of Philadelphia; Miss Mary Willcox Brown, of Baltimore. From the point of view of state boards and departments: Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, president of the Department of Charities and Correction in Baltimore; Honorable John W. Keller, president of the Department of Public Charities in New York, and Mr. Robert W. Heberd, secretary of the State Board of Charities, New York. From the point

of view of care for neglected and delinquent children: Mr. Homer Folks, Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, Mr. Charles Loring Brace, Mr. H. H. Hart, Mrs. Glendower Evans, and Mr. David Willard. From the point of view of societies organized for a specific purpose: Mr. Frank Tucker, superintendent of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; Dr. Lee K. Frankel, secretary of the United Hebrew Charities, and Dr. David Blaustein, superintendent of the Educational Alliance. From the point of view of medical charities: Dr. John S. Billings, Dr. George B. Fowler, Dr. William Hallock Park. From the point of view of churches in charity work: Dr. William R. Huntington, D. D., rector of Grace Church; Rev. Henry Mottet, D. D.; Rev. John B. Devins and others. Mr. Charlton T. Lewis spoke on "The Means of Effective Reform in the Lives of Prisoners," and Mr. Robert W. deForest upon "The Extension of State and Municipal Action Involving the Welfare of the Crowded Sections." The students, thirty-four in number, came from seventeen cities in fourteen different states; half of them are graduates from colleges and universities and the other half have had practical experience in philanthropic work, six coming from settlements and as many more from the district work of the Charity Organization Societies.

The school marks a step in the advance of philanthropy as a profession. During recent years a large number of young men and women who have imbibed a broad interest in social conditions from the universities, have given their lives to practical work among the poor in the tenement districts, either as settlement residents or as agents of charitable societies. That these and all new workers in philanthropy need special training has become more and more apparent. The fact that so large a number, usually at their own expense, came to New York for even the brief course of six weeks which was offered in the summer school, shows that to this extent the new workers themselves, even college men and women, feel the inadequacy of their preparation. The task of adjusting the needy family to its environment so that it is lifted from degradation and becomes self-supporting and of good habits, is a deliberate one, for which preparation is needed of the same stern type that the physician needs to fit himself for practice among the sick. The learner should have at least two years of training under experienced agents, before undertaking unaided the responsibility of solving the intricate problems in the families before him, or conducting the complex affairs of a charitable society. When one considers how varied are the needs of the poor, involving their character as well as their material help,—for no improvement is permanent unless it is a character improvement,—and the extent of the problems involved in

the care of the poor, thirty million dollars having been expended last year for charitable work of various kinds in New York State alone, the need for this training becomes evident. It is hoped that the present summer school may grow into this larger movement and that the means for it may be provided.

The persons registered in the school this summer and their topics for special report were as follows:

Miss Mina L. Acton, New York City: Charitable Agencies Needed in New York. Dr. William H. Allen, Philadelphia: New York State Charities Aid Association. Miss Anna Lowell Alline, New York City: Financial Management of Charitable Institutions, with Special Reference to Hospitals. William R. Camp, Palo Alto, Cal.: The Causes of Dependence. Joseph Aubrey Chase, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Employment and Industrial Agencies. Sister Dora Dawson, Brooklyn, N. Y. Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, Greenwood, Va.: Conditions among the Negro Population in New York City. Mrs. E. E. Dreyfous, New York City: The Conditions of Failure and Success in Volunteer Friendly Work among the Poor. Miss Elizabeth Dutcher, Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Part of the Church in Charity Work. Miss Caroline M. Eichbauer, New York City: Treatment of Families in Emergent Need. Mrs. William Einstein, New York City: The Topics in a Course of Philanthropic Study. Miss Elizabeth LeBaron Fletcher, Amherst, Mass.: Homes for Working Women. Professor J. C. Freehoff, LaCrosse, Wis.: Report upon a West Side Tenement Block. Miss Laura B. Garrett, Baltimore, Md.: A Study among the Italians in New York City. Miss Laura E. Gilman, Boston, Mass.: Immigration, with Special Reference to Italians. Miss Bertha Adeline Hollister, Winter Park, Fla. Miss Edith C. Irwin, New York City: Causes of High Rents in Tenement Houses in New York City. Richard H. Lane, New York City: A Study of Delinquent Children. Eugene T. Lies, Buffalo, N. Y.: A Study of Neglected Children. Mrs. Mattie J. Megee, Philadelphia: Some Methods of Investigation and Decision in New York. Edwin A. Palmer, Chicago, Ill.: Municipal Care for Vagrants. Daniel Lawrence Peacock, Richmond, Ind.: The Education of Immigrants. W. Frank Persons, New York City: The Department of Charities in the City of New York. Rudolph R. Reeder, New York City, Mrs. Clara L. Reeds, New York City: Social Conditions in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards. Miss Anna E. Rutherford, Baltimore, Md.: Methods of Placing Out Children as Seen in New York. Miss Mary Buell Sayles, Montclair, N. J.: A Study of the Syrian Population in New York. Mrs. Anna McCune Schenck, St. Louis, Mo.: Medical Charities. Mrs. Nettie C. Schwerin, New York City: A Brief Survey of the Street in Which the

Hudson Guild is Located. Miss Lily E. Taylor, Toronto, Can.: The Co-operation of Churches in Charitable Work. Miss Helen D. Thompson, New York City: A Study of the Twentieth and Twenty-second Assembly Districts. Miss Zaidee M. VanBoskerck, Plainfield, N. J.: The Relation of the Government to the Poor in Small Cities. Miss Mary Verhoeff, Louisville, Ky.: The Savings of the Poor. Miss Jessie J. Wheeler, Cincinnati, O.: Burials among the Poor. J. O. White, Boston, Mass.: A Study of a Tenement Block on the West Side.

For a portion of the course: Miss Mary Morrison, New York City.

The Warfare Against Consumption.—Among the significant indications of increased activity in the crusade against tuberculosis is the establishment of two periodicals, one in Germany and one in England, devoted exclusively to this subject. The *Zeitschrift für Tuberkulose und Heilstättenwesen* publishes original scientific articles on the medical aspects of the disease and notes upon its literature, and records progress in the establishment of sanatoria and other agencies for checking the ravages of the disease.

Tuberculosis, the journal of the (British) National Association for the Prevention of Consumption, is of a more popular character and is perhaps on that account more useful since an essential feature of the present campaign is the alliance between medical and lay agencies in the securing of suitable legislation and the formation of sound public opinion. In the medical profession itself there is the greatest possible contrast between the spirit of utter hopelessness which prevailed twenty-five years ago and the present prevailing note of hopefulness as to the curability of the disease and the possibility of removing it from the class of epidemics as completely as smallpox and cholera have been removed.

There is abundant evidence of a widespread interest in the subject at the present time, but unfortunately there is as yet little practical result in the United States so far as the adoption of definite preventive measures are concerned. Dr. John H. Pryor, of Buffalo, has summed up in cogent phrases the duty of the state, declaring that it should care for the consumptive at the right time, in the right place, and in the right way until he is cured, and not as at present, at the wrong time, in the wrong place, and in the wrong way until he is dead.

The Congress on this subject held in London in July, was notable for the declaration by Dr. Robert Koch, to whose discoveries is due so much of the recent progress in the treatment of tuberculosis, that the disease is not communicated to human beings by means of meat or milk—a view not shared by other equally competent authorities.

The Legislature of Connecticut had under consideration, during its

long session, a proposition for the establishment of a hospital for the treatment of incipient cases, and seemed repeatedly on the point of taking favorable action on the measure; it was finally decided, however, to appropriate \$25,000 to a Hartford hospital instead, and this institution is to erect a special building on the pavilion plan. It is now two years since a preliminary appropriation was made for the establishment of a similar hospital in the Adirondacks, but disgraceful political and selfish considerations have delayed its actual erection.

The Commissioner of Immigration has decided to attempt to exclude consumptives in early stages, as well as those whose disease is well advanced, the latter having been excluded under earlier rulings usually on the ground that they are likely to become public charges. It is doubtful whether this decision will have any other practical effect than to advertise still further the dangerously contagious character of the disease, and thus perhaps impose additional hardships upon those who are suffering in incipient stages, and who are not provided with the means for seeking a cure under favorable conditions.

In the same class of doubtful expedients should be placed the decision of the New York State Health Department, to take an enumeration of the people in the state afflicted with tuberculosis. No such census can possibly approach completeness, and there is ample knowledge already to justify far more radical action by state and local governments than is likely to be taken.

Among the positive contributions of private philanthropy to the real remedy, especial notice is due to the opening of the County Sanitarium for Consumptives, maintained by the Jewish Montefiore Home of New York City. The sanitarium will accommodate one hundred and fifty patients, and while the situation is within less than two hours' ride of the city it has all of the climatic conditions essential to the proper treatment of the disease.

The Tenement House Exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition.—The beauty of the exterior of the Pan-American Exposition so far overshadows all of its other features, except its remarkable array of amusements, that comparatively little attention is likely to be given to its serious exhibits.

Hidden away in an interior enclosure in the building devoted to Manufactures and Liberal Arts, there is a very creditable charities exhibit representative of all of the great groups of charitable activities and geographically of nearly all sections of the United States. Hospitals, children's institutions, almshouses, homes for the aged, institutions for the insane, relief societies and charity organization societies are all in evidence.

Immediately adjoining is an interesting exhibit of sanitation,

hygiene and housing conditions. The most conspicuous feature of this department, as of the corresponding section at the Paris Exposition, is the exhibit of the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.

This exhibit includes three models—

(1) A block of existing tenement houses in the city of New York, as it stood on January 1, 1900.

The block bounded by Chrystie, Forsyth, Canal and Bayard streets, containing 39 tenement houses, with 605 different apartments for 2,781 persons. Of these 2,315 are over five years of age, and 466 under five years. There are 1,588 rooms, and only 264 water closets in the block. There is not one bath in the entire block. Only 40 apartments are supplied with hot water. There are 441 dark rooms, having no ventilation to the outer air and no light or air except that derived from other rooms. There are 635 rooms getting their sole light and air from dark and narrow air-shafts. During the last five years there have been recorded 32 cases of tuberculosis from this block, and during the past year 13 cases of diphtheria. During the past five years 665 different applications for charitable relief have come from this block. The gross rentals derived from the block amount to \$113,964 a year. This block is not one of the worst in the city, but merely typical.

(2) A block of typical tenement houses built in accordance with the laws in force January 1, 1901, showing almost the entire block occupied by these buildings. Each tenement house in this block contains accommodations for four families on each floor, in fourteen rooms, making 22 families in each building, and 704 families in the whole block, a total of 4,000 persons in the block. The new tenement house law, just passed as a result of the work of this committee, prevents the erection of such buildings in the future.

(3) A model of an entire city block of model tenements designed by Ernest Flagg, architect, 35 Wall street, New York, showing large courts for light and air. Three different groups of improved tenement houses have been built on this plan in New York City, one located in Sixty-eighth street west of Tenth avenue, another located in Sixty-ninth street west of Tenth avenue, and a third located at Forty-second and Forty-first streets and Tenth avenue.

Another portion of the exhibit consists of two winged frames containing photographs illustrating tenement house conditions in America. These photographs show first some views of the Tenement House Exhibition held by this Committee in New York in February, 1900. Then follow pictures of the different model tenement houses which have been erected in New York City; the Tower Buildings of

Mr. Alfred T. White in Brooklyn, erected in 1878; the Riverside Buildings of Mr. White in Brooklyn, erected in 1890; the buildings of the Improved Dwellings Association, at Seventy-first street and First avenue, erected in 1879; the City and Suburban Homes Company's buildings, at Sixty-fourth street and First avenue, erected in 1899, and at 217-233 West Sixty-eighth street, erected in 1896.

Following the model tenements in New York are shown photographs of old bad tenement houses which have now been destroyed, and following these are a series of photographs, showing existing bad conditions in New York's tenement houses, illustrating the small, dark, narrow, unventilated air shafts, the evils of lodgers in the tenements, unsanitary "back to back" rear buildings, playgrounds in tenement districts, street scenes in tenement districts, and other views illustrating similar conditions in New York City.

The rest of the exhibit illustrates housing conditions in other American cities, beginning with Boston and showing first the different model tenements in that city. Then follow a few photographs showing typical bad housing conditions in Boston. Following these are shown the typical and the worst housing conditions in the following American cities: Albany, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, Kansas City, Oakland, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Providence, San Francisco, St. Paul, Washington and Wilmington, Del.

The exhibit closes with a number of photographs illustrating different model small houses, most of which have been built by employers for their employees, the houses of the Willimantic Linen Company, at Willimantic, Conn.; the Howland Mills Corporation, at New Bedford, Mass.; the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, at Washington, D. C.; the Industrial Colonies of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, at Alliance and New Orange, N. J.; the houses of the S. D. Warren Company, at Cumberland Mills, Me.; the exhibit concluding with the model houses of the Draper Company, at Hopedale, Mass.

The Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York City is a special committee of that society which seeks to improve the living environment of the working people by providing proper living accommodations. It seeks to accomplish this: (1) by securing the enactment of wise restrictive legislation prohibiting the erection of bad types of houses and by seeing that such legislation is enforced; (2) by encouraging the building of improved tenement houses as commercial enterprises; and (3) by presenting a study of the tenement house problem in such a way as to arouse the community to the necessity for reform. Through the efforts of this committee the state appointed the Tenement House Commission of

1900 to investigate this subject in New York and Buffalo, and the new Tenement House Law, which has just been passed through the efforts of the legislature and Governor Odell, is one of the results of this committee's work.

Bad housing conditions have resulted in nearly every case in different communities because of failure on the part of the community to appreciate the fact that these conditions were growing up around them and that the consequences would be serious. Had the conditions been met in time, the serious consequences could have been prevented. It is important for every growing city in this country to see to it that housing conditions such as are shown in the models and photographs in this exhibit, and which exist in New York, shall not be allowed to grow up in their community.

Persons desiring to take steps to prevent the growth of bad housing conditions in any city will find the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society ready to assist them in any way in their power in helping to check the growth of these bad conditions, and for that purpose should communicate with Mr. Lawrence Veiller, Assistant Secretary of the Society, at 105 East Twenty-second street, New York City.

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Porto Rico.—A little over a year has now passed since the system of government for Porto Rico, established by the law of April 12, 1900, was put into operation, and the first annual report of the governor shows a remarkable record of progress achieved during this time. As provided by the law of 1900, the most important powers of government are vested in the executive council, and the work of that body during the past year has necessarily been of a decisive character in determining the precedents for future years. One of the principal powers conferred upon the council was the granting of franchises, subject to congressional approval, and during the last year over fifty-three applications for important public concessions have been submitted, covering railroads, wharves, water rights, telephones, tramways, telegraphs, ferries and automobile lines. Comparatively few have as yet been granted. The most important of this class of questions which has recently been decided by the executive council is the franchise of the so-called French Railroad Company. The company enjoyed a government guarantee of an 8 per cent dividend upon the cost of construction under the Spanish régime. This guarantee was discontinued by the United States, and it became necessary to make a complete readjustment of the relations between the company and the insular government. The importance of the railroad to the economic development of a large part of the island was recognized by the executive council, but, on the other hand, the council did not feel justified in continuing a guarantee which would in all probability prove a serious burden to the finances of the insular government. After protracted negotiations a plan was agreed upon to the satisfaction of both parties. The company has reorganized as an American corporation and has waived all claims for guaranty of its dividend, in return for which it has been exempted from taxation for twenty-five years, has received franchises for the construction of branch lines and a lease of land in the city of San Juan for fifty years at a nominal rental. In the meantime a new company, with American capital, has secured the necessary franchise for a railroad and is planning to begin construction work in the near future.

In the administration of justice an important advance has been made by depriving the mayors of municipalities of their jurisdiction in criminal cases and establishing police courts, one in each municipality. Until the last session of the legislature persons arrested for petty offences were tried before the mayors of the various *municipios*. This led, it was claimed, to the introduction of politics into the

trial of such petty criminal cases; the legislature has accordingly provided for a system of police magistrates for the trial of such cases. The magistrates are appointed by the governor, one in each of the sixty-seven municipalities, and are thereby removed from the disturbing influences of local politics. In addition to these magistrates' courts there are municipal courts with a limited jurisdiction. The island is also divided into five judicial districts, with a district court composed of three judges in each district. The decisions of these courts may be reviewed by the Supreme Court of Porto Rico sitting as a court of cassation. A large majority of the cases coming before the district courts are criminal cases, a fact which is attributable to the unrest caused by the change of sovereignty, the lack of employment following the hurricane and other disturbing influences.

The treasurer's department, in particular, shows the remarkable progress made during the past year. A system of internal taxation, based in the main upon the general property tax, has been adopted, and affords the opportunity provided for by the Foraker law to abolish the customs duties on trade between the United States and Porto Rico. On July 4 of the present year the legislative assembly in extra session passed a resolution pointing out that the revenue system of the island was sufficient to meet insular expenditures, and asking the President to issue the proclamation of free trade between Porto Rico and the United States, contemplated by the Foraker act. With the adoption of this change, which took place on July 25, it is expected that the American markets for Porto Rican products may be considerably enlarged. It is especially hoped that coffee and tobacco exports will be increased. A glance at the census of Porto Rico will show that coffee is one of the principal, if not the principal, product of the island. The coffee and tobacco lands, however, are situated in the interior and are difficult of access. The high cost of transportation, together with the duties levied upon these products when imported into the United States, have unduly limited their natural markets in America. One of the immediate results of free trade with the United States was the introduction of a large quantity of Brazilian coffee by way of New York. Considerable indignation was manifested, and a boycott organized, whereupon the coffee was reshipped to New York. An interesting feature of the financial system adopted in Porto Rico has been the central control over municipal finances. The necessity for this control has been clearly shown by the experience of the last year. A large percentage of the municipal budgets submitted to the central authorities have contained many defects to which attention is called in the governor's report. The most important of these are illegal taxation, the falsification of assets or receipts,

and the excessive expenditure for salaries. In sixty-five of the municipal districts 23 per cent of the total expenditure was devoted to salaries.

Next to the change wrought by the abolition of the American tariff, the greatest impetus to the economic development of Porto Rico may be expected from the system of roads now under construction. The military government pursued the plan of road-building in various parts of the island, not only for the purpose of affording means of communication, but more especially to provide employment for the poorer classes after the hurricane. The Department of the Interior, under the civil government, is now directing its attention primarily to the development of certain trade routes, from which it is thought that a permanent change in the accessibility of the interior lands will result, and thereby, also, a perceptible diminution in the cost of production of insular products.

The work of the Department of Education has been perhaps the most interesting of all that has been undertaken by the insular government. The illiteracy of Porto Rico is well-nigh discouraging and the funds at the command of the Commissioner of Education have been limited. Previous to American control there were no buildings erected for school purposes on the island, and the absence of good roads has continually rendered the task of supervision difficult, while there was, as the commissioner has pointed out, a lack of active public sentiment to sustain the public-school system. The number of children admitted to the schools in October, 1900, was 40,000. This was, of course, a very small percentage of the population of school age. According to the new school law passed by the legislature at its last session, not less than ten per cent nor more than twenty per cent of all moneys received by each municipality must be set aside as a school fund. Within these limits the amount devoted by each municipality to educational purposes is determined by the municipal council. The management of schools in each district is entrusted to a school board of three members elected by the people. The power of supervision is retained by the Commissioner of Education as provided by the organic law. The interest and efficiency of the teachers have been stimulated by a series of teachers' courses held during the summer at San Juan, for which over seven hundred and fifty teachers and persons in preparation for the teaching profession were registered.

In the preservation of order the insular government has made an interesting departure from the methods heretofore in vogue upon the mainland by establishing a corps of police entirely under the control of the Central Government. This body, composed of 664 officers and men, distributed throughout the island, includ-

ing nearly all of the cities, has supplanted the municipal police forces and resulted in a considerable saving to the local governments. The standard of efficiency has been raised, and it is safe to say that the rapid improvement in the order of the island is due in no small degree to the thorough and systematic organization of the insular police. Another interesting development in American administrative methods is seen in the bureau of charities. The insular board of charities has been superseded by a single director of charities who possesses not only extensive powers of inspection and supervision over the charitable institutions of the various municipalities, but also a complete control over the charitable institutions of the insular government. A similar change toward a greater concentration of power has been made in the management of correctional institutions, by the substitution of an insular director of prisons for the board of prison control.

The Philippines.—The commerce of the Islands is steadily increasing, the imports having reached the highest point known in the history of the archipelago. Until recently the poor condition of the shipping facilities at Manila has caused long delays in the unloading of goods destined for that port. This in turn led to high freight rates to cover the time lost by large vessels in port. The improvement in the shipping facilities has now reached a point where these delays are being rapidly reduced and a corresponding increase in the direct shipments to Manila is observable. It is expected that with the consequent lowering in the freight rates the prices of American goods may be reduced to such an extent as to increase their consumption in the Philippine markets. While the total value of merchandise, gold and silver exported from the Philippines during the calendar year 1900, shows an increase of more than one-third over the exports for the year 1899, the exports to the United States have increased only one-quarter. On the first of July the civil government as planned went into operation. The Philippine Commission was succeeded by a governor and a cabinet composed of heads of executive departments. Judge Taft, the president of the former commission, was appointed governor, while the other members of the commission have been made chiefs of the several departments.

An interesting question relating to the executive organization of our new possessions has presented itself, viz., should the power to appoint the heads of departments be vested in the President of the United States or in the governor of the territory or dependency? It seems probable that with the gradual evolution of a distinct form of government for the new dependencies the power of choosing the heads of the departments may be vested in the governor. There is a vast dif-

ference between the powers exercised by the executive in the new possessions from that exercised by the governor of a territory upon the mainland. In the latter case the governor is seldom required to perform functions of a highly important character, whereas in the new possessions the governor's position is in many respects the determining factor in the government. The greater the powers of the executive department, the more sharply defined must be the responsibility, and, after the most urgent necessity for control by the President of the United States has passed, it may be expected that a form of organization looking to a greater concentration of responsibility and power within the insular governments will be developed. In this respect the governments of Hawaii and Porto Rico present a sharp contrast to each other. The heads of departments in Porto Rico are nearly all appointed by the President of the United States, and are therefore placed in a position of considerable independence with reference to the governor, whereas the Governor of Hawaii appoints all the heads of departments, even including the auditor and assistant auditor. In the case of Porto Rico the peculiar organization was doubtless justified by the undeveloped political condition of the island and by the necessity that the President should exercise a direct control over the introduction of the new governmental system; but, as the insular government becomes firmly established, a closer approximation to the Hawaiian form would seem desirable.

V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Militant Trades Unionism in the United States.—The *Iron Age*, of May 30, 1901, gives a detailed account of the circumstances which led up to the recent strike in the works of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio. This company has been constantly cited as a model establishment in respect to the relations existing between employer and employed. High wages were paid, free baths, libraries and facilities for exercise were provided; studied courtesy from superior to inferior was the rule. The narrative of the recent disturbances as given by the *Iron Age*, shows that this considerate and kindly treatment of the employees was not appreciated by them, but that it had rather the effect of "spoiling" them. One of the many points of dispute between the management and the hands concerned the question of the washing of the towels supplied to the lavatories. The labor union men in the shops complained that these were washed by women not connected with any union, and they demanded that the work should be done in a union laundry. The management settled this difficulty by stopping the supply of towels. It was then discovered that the compressed air-springs on the doors of the polishing department were manufactured by a non-union shop in Connecticut. The springs were removed. Questions of wages and employment soon came to the front. In 1899 the shop had been unionized, and from the beginning this formal recognition of the union led to serious trouble. A few examples will illustrate: The Local Metal Polishers' Union about this time was worsted in a conflict with the Dayton Manufacturing Company, and was therefore left with a number of idle men on its hands. The committee of the union in the works of the Cash Register Company insisted that whenever a vacancy occurred in their shop it should be filled by one of these discharged employees of the Dayton Manufacturing Company. The management acceded. The foundry department was the next and final cause of disagreement. Of the thirty-two foundrymen sixteen were union men, the foreman being a non-union man and peculiarly obnoxious to the unionists because of his connection with an unsuccessful strike in another factory eleven years before. A year and a half ago this foreman discharged two men for cause and refused to take them back, although the union demanded their restoration through its international officers. The company, however, paid the men fifteen dollars per week for three months to assist them in finding other employment. At the end of that time the international officers allowed the pensions to be discontinued after a long discussion. The next act of the union, which had now been formally recognized by the

company, was to announce that no employee should earn more than \$4.50 per day—some of the hands had been earning \$7 per day on piece work. The company acceded to this rule, and as a result of the additional hands from other works which were forced upon them by the union, the working force was so much increased that many of the moulders finished their allotted tasks by noon, and the shop during the afternoon became a lounging and smoking-room. The result was a new arrangement of work by which the moulders did a full day's work for \$4.50, suffering to the extent of the difference between this sum and their former wages, from the advent of the union into the shop. In January last three men were laid off because there was no work for them to do. After a hearing before the international committeeman the company was sustained. In March and April three more men were laid off, two for lack of work and one for cause. One of these secured other employment, leaving five men out of work. The local union, in the latter part of April, in spite of the previous reference to the officers of the general organization, and in spite of the statement of the company that there was no work for the men to do, made a formal demand for their reinstatement, and on the company refusing to employ them ordered a strike in the moulders' department. On April 29 all the moulders went out. A few days after the demand was reiterated by a committee of metal polishers. A second refusal was followed by a strike of all the polishers. As a result of these two strikes the company was forced to close the works.

A sequel to this struggle is the securing, by the Dayton Manufacturing Company above-mentioned, on June 1, 1901, of a perpetual injunction, restraining the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass-Workers' Union, No. 5, of Dayton, from in any way interfering with their business. The petition charges that the defendants, since seventeen employees in the polishing and buffing departments of the Dayton Manufacturing Company were discharged on October 9, 1899, for unsatisfactory work, "conspired together to prevent the plaintiffs from having their polishing and buffing done in the city of Dayton by others engaged in the same business; that they threatened the remaining employees and others who were subsequently employed by the company to take the places of those discharged with force and violence to compel them to leave the plaintiffs' service; that they threatened and intimidated certain persons from dealing with the plaintiffs; that they 'picketed' the plaintiffs' factory for the purpose of intimidating their employees, and caused disturbances which made it necessary to call in police assistance to preserve the peace." In the Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County, Ohio, these acts as alleged were found illegal, and Judge Kumler granted a perpetual in-

junction as prayed for in the petition. In summing up his decision Judge Kumler said: "If the defendants would live within the objects and purposes of their organization as expressed in their constitution and by-laws all would be well, and we would never hear of any trouble between the employer and the employees. But where the members of the union go beyond conceded right to peacefully persuade or arbitrate, and resort to threats, intimidation and violence to accomplish their ends, they must expect to face the courts, which have always and always will condemn such conduct."—*Iron Age*, June 6, 1901.

Amount of Small Coal Saved in the Anthracite Region.—The Pennsylvania Coal Waste Commission, in its report in 1892, recommended, as a most important means of economy, the better utilization of the small coal, *i. e.*, the sizes below chestnut coal. Until a few years before the date of this report, most of this small coal went to the culm bank, the commission estimating the total amount of coal lost in this way, from 1823 to 1892, at 315,000,000 tons. Of late the small sizes are in large demand and the following tables show the large proportion of the total output which is now consumed in the small sizes which were until recently thrown away:

	Per Cent of Total.	
	Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.	Girard Estate.
Large sizes, chestnut and above . . .	49.20	57.41
Pea coal	14.13	13.98
Buckwheat	16.34	21.10
Rice	20.33	7.51
Total small or steam sizes	50.80	42.59
Totals	100.00	100.00

The statistics of other companies are not available, but the records of these two large coal mines are probably indicative of the general situation. The special significance of these figures, apart from their revelations of increasing care and economy by producer and consumer, is the danger to the anthracite mining industry which is presented by the increasing use of bituminous coal. This is preferred by steam raisers, on account of its superior heating value, in spite of the lower price at which the smaller sizes of anthracite are sold. Let the smoke nuisance be once overcome and the anthracite companies, already so largely dependent upon the manufacturing demand, will have a hard struggle to maintain their position.